

BRITAIN'S BEST MILITARY HISTORY MAGAZINE

HISTORY *of* WAR



NUREMBERG'S VOICE OF DOOM
Memoirs of chief translator Wolfe Frank

How did Hitler's Kriegsmarine use WWI experience to create its most devastating tactic?

ORIGINS OF THE WOLFPACK



PLUS:
★ Huguenot massacre
★ Spain's Carlist Wars
★ Admiral Karl Dönitz

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ENGLISH ELECTRIC LIGHTNING
Technology of the Cold War fighter



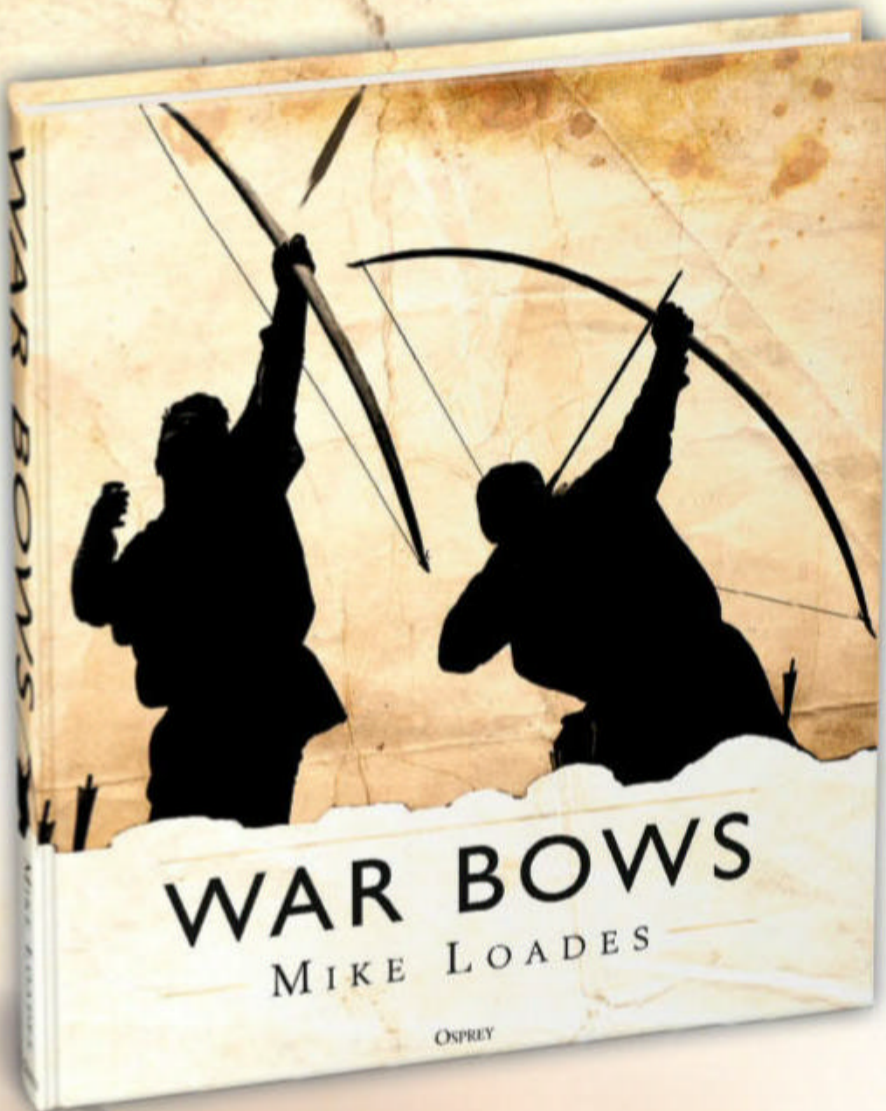
JACK MANTLE: VC HERO
Royal Navy gunner's ultimate sacrifice



THE HABSBURG ENFORCER
Most feared general of the Thirty Years' War

FUTURE
ISSUE 065

WAR BOWS



An engaging and lively exploration of four of the world's most iconic bows – the longbow, the crossbow, the composite bow and the Japanese *yumi*.



Combining a lifetime of hands-on experience with original scholarship and lavish illustrations, acclaimed historical weapons expert Mike Loades offers a fascinating history of each bow's development and variants, an appreciation of what it was like to shoot and a detailed assessment of its role on the battlefield.

U-94 arriving at the St. Nazaire quay, with Admiral Karl Dönitz watching on

Bundesarchiv, Bild 101J-MW-3491-06 / Buchheim, Lothar-Günther / CC-BY-SA 3.0



Welcome

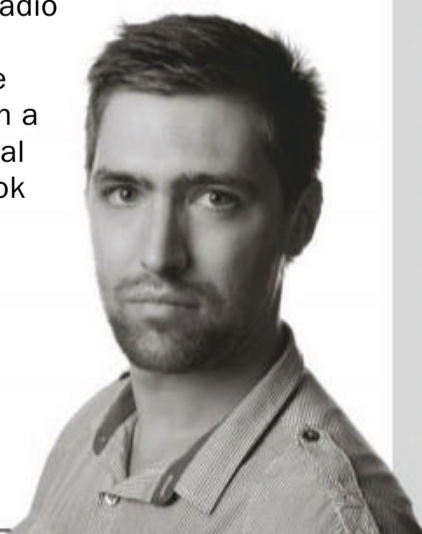
In the same way that aircraft heralded a new, previously unimagined combat in the sky, so too did submarines radically change the bitter struggle for dominance over the seas.

In both cases, the lessons and developments of the First World War brought about even more effective and deadlier doctrines for the next global conflict.

Perhaps the most infamous of these was the 'Rudeltaktik', or 'wolfpack tactics', developed by WWI veteran Karl Dönitz. Applying

his first-hand experience of German U-boat doctrine, he was able to utilise new radio technology and improved submarine capability to unleash a hugely effective naval campaign, which took vulnerable Allied shipping by storm.

Tim Williamson
Editor-in-Chief



CONTRIBUTORS

TOM GARNER

In the second part of his Bletchley Park series, Tom spoke with Sir Dermot Turing about the multi-national efforts that made his uncle's work possible – plus Betty Webb discusses her experiences working at the top-secret facility.



LAWRENCE PATERSON

Lawrence has been writing on and researching the Kriegsmarine, as well as other topics on the Third Reich, for nearly 20 years. He has also investigated the subject first-hand in his other incarnation as a scuba-diving instructor.



DAVID SMITH

This issue David returns to one of his favourite topics – the American War of Independence – specifically one of the great turning points of the Patriot struggle: the Battle of Saratoga. Turn to page 38 for his blow-by-blow account.





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Medieval Europe's superstate was thrust into chaos by decades of destructive civil wars

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Henry IV and his English mercenary allies attempt to seize this stronghold from Spain

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Blighted by fierce religious zeal, this period saw horrific acts and assassinations carried out

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WARⁱⁿ **FOCUS**

FAREWELL TO RATS

Taken: 9 April 1980

Men of the 1st Battalion, Welsh Guards stand to attention on parade at Pirbright Barracks, alongside their corgi-terrier mascot Rats. The canine served faithfully with the Guards in Northern Ireland during some of the worst years of 'The Troubles', where he was shot at and injured by several bombs.

Known as the 'soldier dog of Ulster', Rats retired in 1980.







WAR
in
FOCUS
MARINE WARFARE

Taken: 26 March 1966

Five US Marines prepare to storm a beach in Rung Sat Zone, 20-30 miles south of Saigon, during Operation Jackstay. Over 1,200 Marines took part in this mission, which aimed to disrupt and dislodge Viet Cong forces in the area, which had been the staging ground for earlier enemy ambushes. Numerous Viet Cong camps were destroyed during the mission.





WAR_{in}
FOCUS
WALKING WOUNDED

Taken: c. March 1918

German and Allied troops pick their way through the muddy streets of St Quentin, France, during the gruelling German Spring Offensive. The Battle of St Quentin was among the first major engagements of the German campaign, which initially took the Allies by surprise and regained much of the territory that was lost to the British and French in previous years.



WARⁱⁿ FOCUS

“INTO THE LIGHT OF THE DARK BLACK NIGHT”

Taken: **1992**

NASA's Lockheed SR-71B sends shock waves rippling through the air as it takes off from the Ames-Dryden Flight Research Facility, California. This twin-cockpit variant of the iconic 'Blackbird' spy plane was loaned to NASA by the US Air Force for use in its research.



TIMELINE OF THE...

FRENCH WARS OF RELIGION

During the late 16th century, France was consumed by decades of civil war between Roman Catholics and Huguenot Protestants



SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRE

After several religious wars across ten years, Catherine de Medici persuades her son Charles IX to order the assassination of around 200 Huguenot leaders. Parisian Catholic mobs use these killings as a pretext for large-scale butchery. 3,000 Protestants are killed in Paris while tens of thousands more are murdered across France.

23 - 24 August 1572

1 March 1562

MASSACRE OF WASSY

Decades of religious tensions in France descend into open warfare following a notorious incident. 63 Huguenot villagers are burned alive in their church at Wassy on the orders of the duke of Guise after he receives a slight injury while passing through the village. Widespread violence immediately spreads across the country.

Francis, Duke of Guise orders the massacre of the Protestant inhabitants of Wassy. He's assassinated almost a year later by a vengeful Huguenot



SIEGE OF LA ROCHELLE

Refugees from the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre flee to the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle. A Catholic royal army led by Henry, Duke of Anjou bombards the port with 35,000 cannon shot and dozens of assaults. 22,000 men out of 40,000 royalist soldiers die compared to 1,300 Huguenots out of a garrison of 3,100.

After the siege, Charles IX grants the Huguenots the right to publicly worship in La Rochelle, Montauban and Nismes, but they lose wider rights elsewhere



The 'Day of the Barricades' is a spontaneous uprising in Catholic Paris on 12 May 1588 against the moderate policies of Henry III towards Protestants

1587-89

WAR OF THE THREE HENRYS

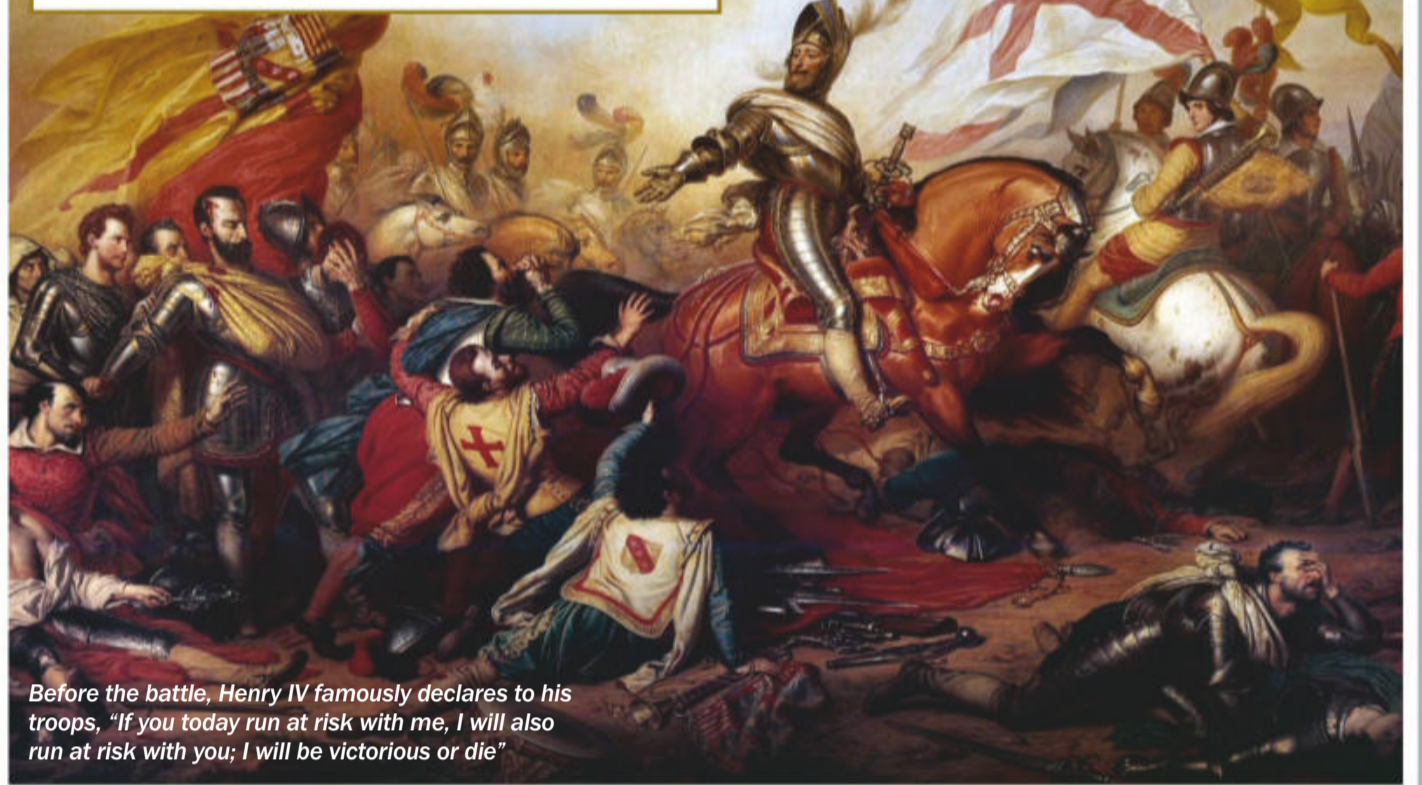
Henry, Duke of Guise attempts to exclude the Huguenot King Henry of Navarre from the succession to the French throne. Guise's 'Catholic League' controls France and Henry III, but the king orders the duke's assassination. When Henry III is also murdered, Navarre succeeds as Henry IV.

Protestant Europe is horrified by the 1572 massacre, while hatred is revived within France between Catholics and Huguenots, leading to a resumption of armed hostilities

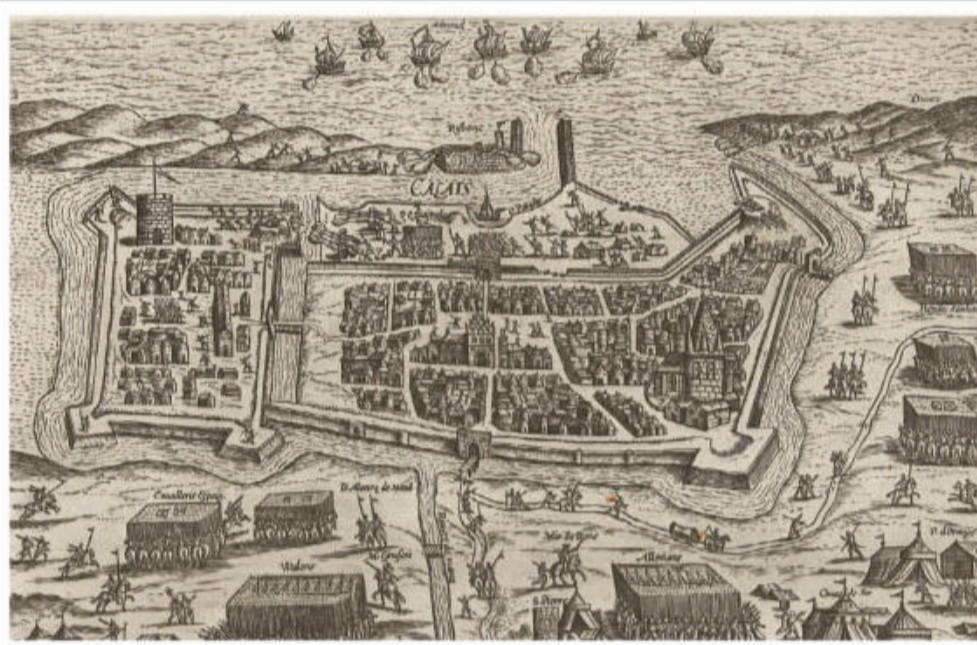


BATTLE OF IVRY

Henry IV commands a combined Huguenot, English and Swiss force against the Catholic League at Ivry. His decisive victory ensures that he becomes the only credible choice for the French throne.



Before the battle, Henry IV famously declares to his troops, "If you today run at risk with me, I will also run at risk with you; I will be victorious or die"



THE FRANCO-SPANISH WAR

Although Henry IV's succession is secured, members of the Catholic League still work against him with Spanish support. Henry declares war on Spain and the Spanish capture Calais, but the king wins a decisive victory at the Siege of Amiens.

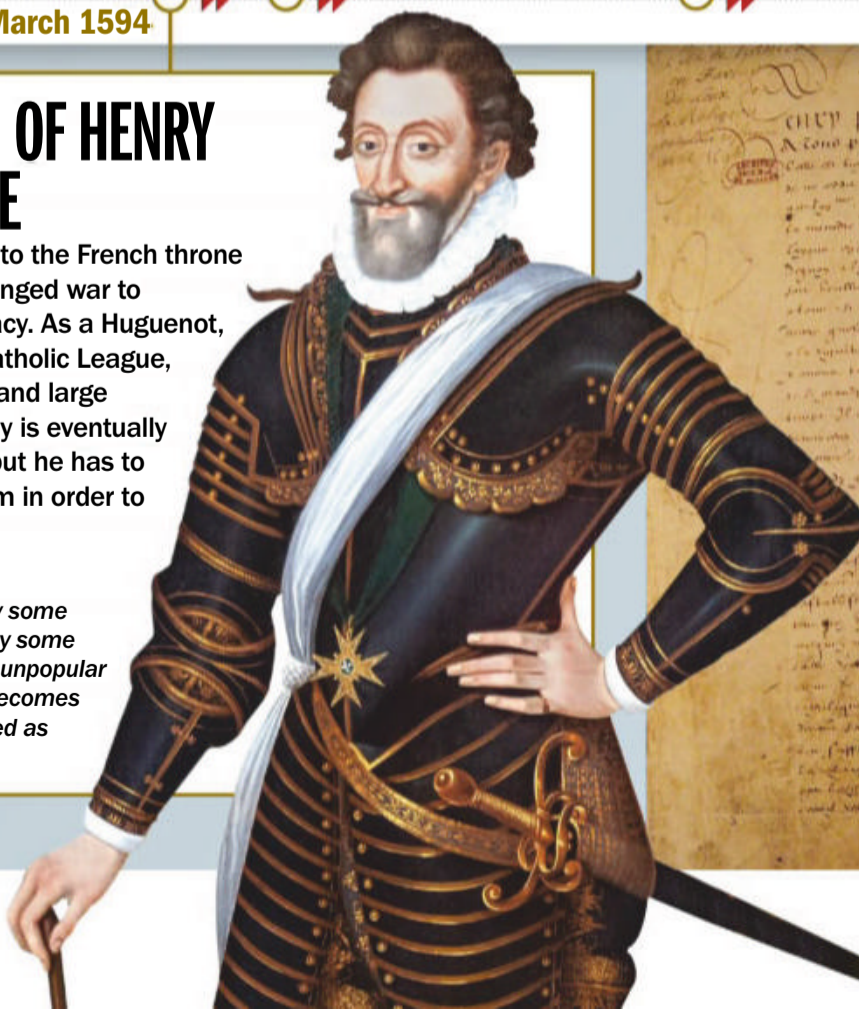
The Siege of Calais is an important strategic victory for the Spanish that enables them to control large parts of the English Channel for two years

August 1589 - March 1594

SUCCESSION OF HENRY IV OF FRANCE

Henry IV's accession to the French throne is followed by a prolonged war to establish his legitimacy. As a Huguenot, he has to fight the Catholic League, which controls Paris and large parts of France. Henry is eventually recognised as king, but he has to convert to Catholicism in order to ensure peace.

Considered a usurper by some Catholics and a traitor by some Protestants, Henry IV is unpopular during his lifetime but becomes posthumously recognised as 'Good King Henry'



14 March 1590

1595-98

13 April 1598

EDICT OF NANTES

Henry IV grants Huguenots substantial civil rights in the French state, which treats them as more than heretics for the first time. This opening towards greater tolerance ends the Wars of Religion.

Louis XIV infamously revokes the edict in 1685, causing 400,000 Huguenots to flee the country. The revocation causes great economic damage to France



THEOLOGICAL WARFARE

Religious conflicts raged across France for decades with a bloody series of battles, sieges and massacres

1 AMBOISE CONSPIRACY
17 MARCH 1560 AMBOISE, CENTRE-VAL DE LOIRE
 One of the key events that directly lead to civil war is a failed Huguenot attempt to gain power in France. Provincial aristocrats attempt to kidnap Francis II when they unsuccessfully storm Château d'Amboise. 1,200-1,500 Protestants are subsequently hung from the town walls of Amboise.



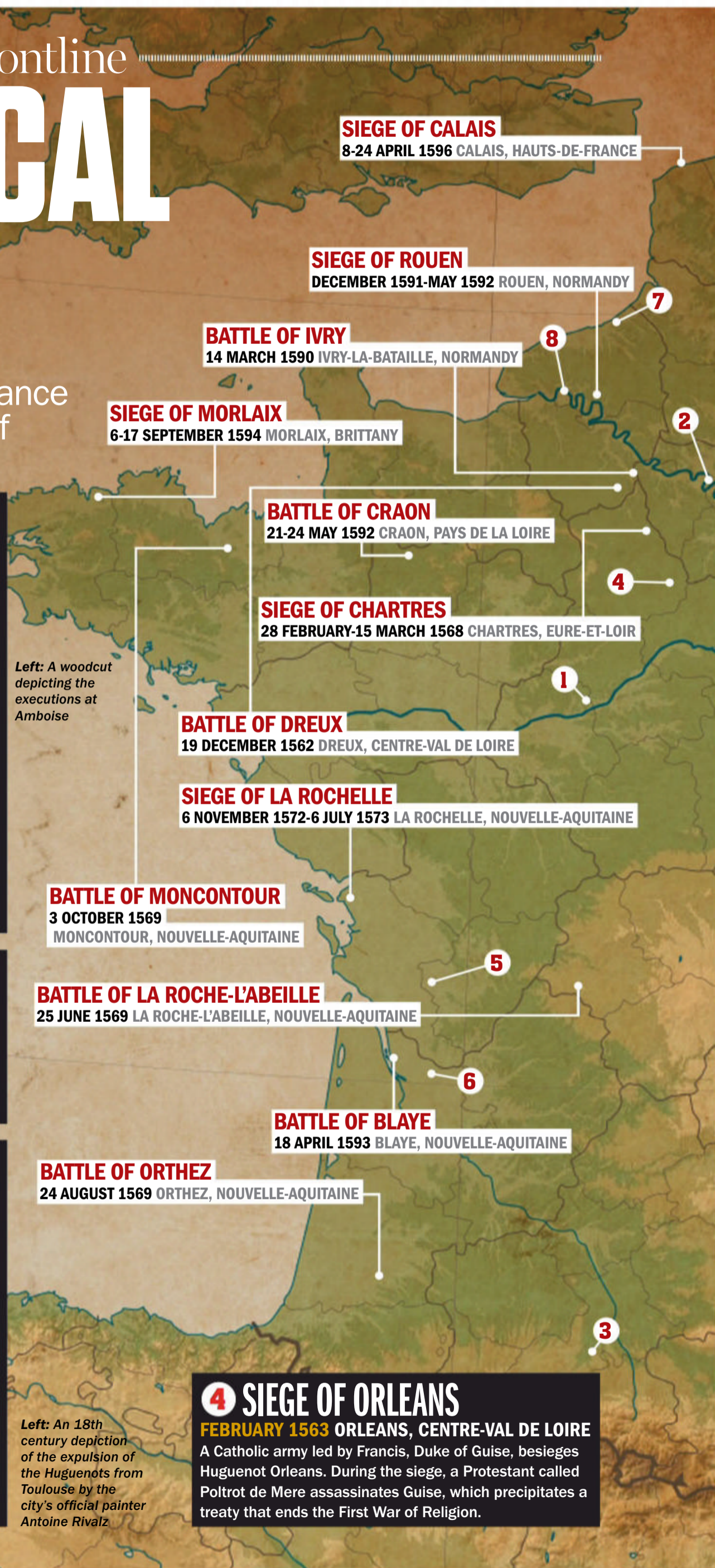
Left: A woodcut depicting the executions at Amboise

2 EDICT OF SAINT-GERMAIN
JANUARY 1562 WASSY, ÎLE-DE-FRANCE
 This edict is promulgated by Catherine de Medici, Regent of France, to provide limited tolerance to Huguenots in a Roman Catholic state. Freedom of private conscience and worship is guaranteed but not public worship in towns and settlements. Attempts to implement this flawed policy results in the massacre of Protestant villagers at Wassy.

3 RIOTS OF TOULOUSE
13-17 MAY 1562 TOULOUSE, HAUTE-GARONNE
 Violent clashes between Catholics and Huguenots within Toulouse result in the deaths of 3,000-5,000 of its citizens. The fighting takes place as part of a failed Huguenot municipal insurrection to seize control of the city.



Left: An 18th century depiction of the expulsion of the Huguenots from Toulouse by the city's official painter Antoine Rivalz



4 SIEGE OF ORLEANS
FEBRUARY 1563 ORLEANS, CENTRE-VAL DE LOIRE
 A Catholic army led by Francis, Duke of Guise, besieges Huguenot Orleans. During the siege, a Protestant called Poltrot de Mere assassinates Guise, which precipitates a treaty that ends the First War of Religion.

SIEGE OF DOULLENS

14-31 JULY 1595 DOULLENS, HAUTS-DE-FRANCE

SIEGE OF LE CATELET

20-26 JUNE 1595 LE CATELET, HAUTS-DE-FRANCE

SIEGE OF AMIENS

13 MAY-25 SEPTEMBER 1597 AMIENS, HAUTS-DE-FRANCE

BATTLE OF SAINT-DENIS

10 NOVEMBER 1567 SAINT-DENIS, SEINE-SAINT-DENIS

BATTLE OF DORMANS

10 OCTOBER 1575 DORMANS, GRAND EST

MASSACRE OF WASSY

1 MARCH 1562 WASSY, HAUTE-MARNE

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRE

23-24 AUGUST 1572 PARIS

SIEGE OF PARIS

MAY-SEPTEMBER 1590 PARIS

DAY OF THE BARRICADES

12 MAY 1588 PARIS



The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre has been depicted numerous times, including in this Pre-Raphaelite painting by Sir John Everett Millais of a doomed Huguenot man

SIEGE OF SANCERRE

9 NOVEMBER 1572-25 AUGUST 1573 SANCERRE, CENTRE-VAL DE LOIRE

BATTLE OF VIMORY

26 OCTOBER 1587 VIMORY, CENTRE-VAL DE LORD

5 BATTLE OF JARNAC

13 MARCH 1569 BASSAC, NOUVELLE-AQUITAINE

Catholic forces defeat a Huguenot army led by their prominent leader Louis, Prince of Condé. The Protestants are outnumbered but Condé leads them into battle despite having a broken leg and his arm in a sling.

He is forced to surrender after a sharp combat and he is murdered shortly afterwards by a Catholic guard.

Below: The Huguenots are demoralised after the death of Condé at Jarnac but their forces win the subsequent Battle of La Roche-l'Abeille



6 BATTLE OF COUTRAS

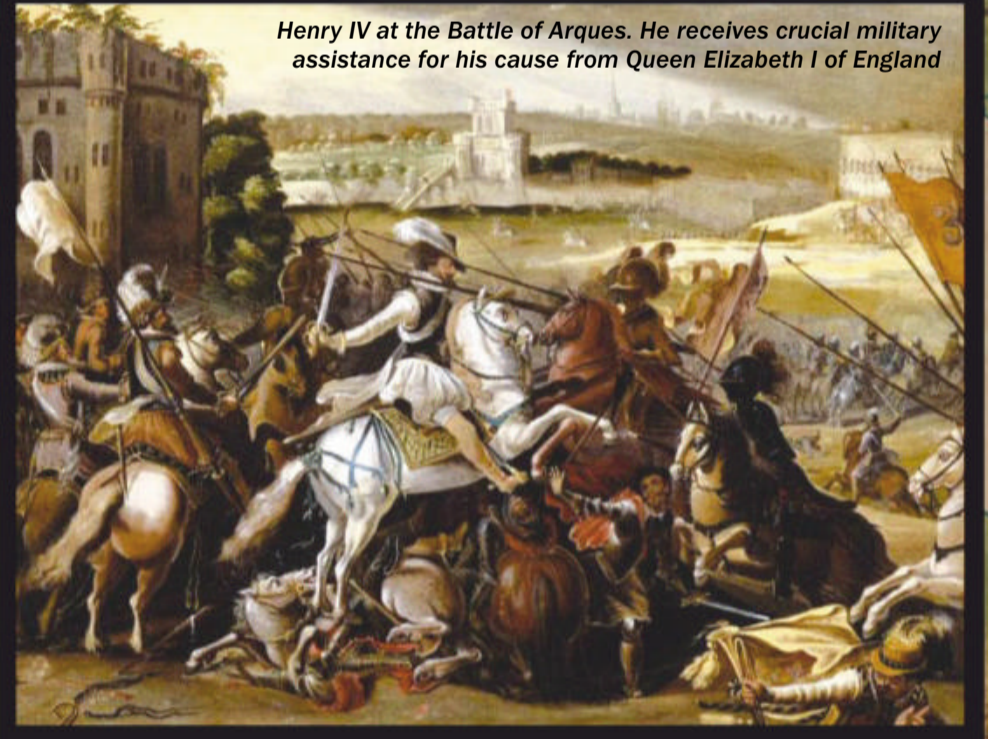
20 OCTOBER 1587 COUTRAS, NOUVELLE-AQUITAINE

Coutras is the first major Huguenot battlefield victory. Protestant cavalry commanded by Henry of Navarre (the future Henry IV) routs a royalist army led by Anne de Joyeuse who is killed. Henry fails to follow up his victory by not linking up Swiss and German reinforcements.

7 BATTLE OF ARQUES

15-18 SEPTEMBER 1589 ARQUES-LA-BATAILLE, NORMANDY

Henry IV defeats the Catholic League, which is led by Charles, Duke of Mayenne. After heavy fighting, Henry's army is saved by the arrival of 4,000 English soldiers led by Sir Roger Williams. The king's victory enables him to go on the offensive towards Paris.



Henry IV at the Battle of Arques. He receives crucial military assistance for his cause from Queen Elizabeth I of England

8 SIEGE OF CAUDEBEC

24 APRIL-21 MAY 1592 CAUDEBEC-EN-CAUX, NORMANDY

French and Spanish forces of the Catholic League capture Caudebec but they soon trapped by Henry IV's multinational army of French, English and Dutch troops. The Spanish commander, the duke of Parma, successfully withdraws 15,000 of his men across the River Seine but Henry wins a strategic victory.

“THE PROTESTANTS ARE OUTNUMBERED BUT CONDÉ LEADS THEM INTO BATTLE DESPITE HAVING A BROKEN LEG AND HIS ARM IN A SLING”

Frontline

FAMOUS BATTLE

AMIENS 1597

Henry IV finally ended the seemingly endless conflicts by successfully defeating the Spanish in Picardy

Henry IV directs operations at Amiens. The French king personally designed the siege works, which helped to contribute to the Spanish defeat

France's religious wars tore the country apart and these bitter civil conflicts resulted in the accession of the Protestant Henry IV to the French throne in 1589. The first Bourbon monarch had to fight the powerful 'Catholic League' for many years and even converted to Catholicism in 1593 in order to secure his crown. Henry's public conversion meant that the vast majority of his Catholic subjects accepted him as king but defiant members of the League continued to oppose him with considerable Spanish support.

In early 1595 Henry discovered a Spanish plot to invade France and occupy several Atlantic ports as well as supporting Charles, Duke of Mayenne. As head of the Catholic League, Mayenne was based in Burgundy with a dwindling but defiant army but on 17 January, Henry went on the offensive and declared war on Spain. Known as the "Franco-Spanish War" or the "Ninth War of Religion", Henry's declaration was a pointed gesture that transformed the remnants of the League into traitors because of their alliance with a traditional enemy of France. The war was also designed to assure suspicious Huguenots that Henry's conversion had not bound him too closely to Catholic policies.

Despite the domestic politics, Henry's actual war was with the Spanish. Juan Fernández de Velasco initially invaded France from Italy with 12,000 men but Henry defeated him at the Battle of Fontaine-Française on 6 June 1595. Pope Clement VIII then granted Henry absolution a few months later, which increased his legitimacy among his Catholic subjects.

Nevertheless between 1595-96, the Spanish achieved successes in northern France by seizing Le Catelet, Doullens, Cambrai and Calais. By early 1597, their next target was the capital of Picardy – Amiens.

From walnuts to peace

As a Catholic League stronghold, Amiens had only recently submitted to Henry who had agreed not to install a royal garrison. The city was still used as a military depot, which made Amiens a tempting target for the nearby Spanish garrison at Doullens and a surprise attack was launched on 11 March 1597. An advance party seized the Montrescu Gate while disguised as peasants who were

transporting wagons of wood and walnuts. The walnut wagon was deliberately spilled directly underneath the gate's portcullis and in the ensuing confusion hundreds of hidden Spanish soldiers managed to break into the city.

Amiens had fallen virtually without a fight and Henry was dismayed when he heard the news in Paris. He nevertheless raised funds and ordered the construction of a siege train before sending Charles, Duke of Biron to Amiens with 3,000 men to prepare the siege. The king designed the siege works himself and placed them around the north side of Amiens to prevent more Spanish troops from arriving. Archduke Albert of Austria, Governor-General of the Spanish Netherlands, raised a relief force of 28,000 men but by June 1597 Henry had gathered an army of 30,000 soldiers and largely conducted the siege himself. He also had 45 siege guns in his lines although the defenders of Amiens launched a series of sorties that caused significant damage on 17 July.

The French besieged Amiens into September when Albert advanced to relieve the garrison. By this time Mayenne had made peace with Henry and was now serving in his army. It was Mayenne who suggested that Henry fortify an important position at Longpré and as the Spanish approached the fortifications the French were able to repulse them with heavy losses.

Following this failed assault, Albert planned another attack the following day but Spanish morale was low and neither side was willing to risk a major battle outside Amiens.

Albert's force retreated back to the Spanish Netherlands on 16 September but the garrison held out for a further nine days until it surrendered. On 25 September Henry triumphantly entered the city on horseback while holding the royal sceptre. He granted the Spanish an honourable capitulation and 5,000 of the garrison's soldiers filed past the king while their officers saluted him as a conqueror.

Henry's decisive victory at Amiens eliminated the Spanish threat and enabled him to subdue Brittany where the last remnants of the Catholic League came to terms with him on 20 March 1598.

This ended the conflict and on 13 April Henry issued the Edict of Nantes, which effectively brought the French Wars of Religion to an end for the first time in 36 years.

“HENRY'S DECLARATION WAS A POINTED GESTURE THAT TRANSFORMED THE REMNANTS OF THE LEAGUE INTO TRAITORS BECAUSE OF THEIR ALLIANCE WITH A TRADITIONAL ENEMY OF FRANCE”



Above: Spanish troops were able to storm Amiens when an advance party blocked the portcullis of a gate with a wagon while they were disguised as peasants

FIGHTING THE “WARS OF JACOB”

ENGLISH MERCENARIES VIGOROUSLY FOUGHT FOR HENRY IV AND WERE PRESENT AT THE SIEGE OF AMIENS IN LARGE NUMBERS



Above: Sir Arthur Chichester was knighted by Henry IV at Amiens and was later instrumental in the founding of Belfast during the Plantation of Ulster

Although he ultimately converted to Roman Catholicism out of political expediency, Henry IV was one of the most significant royal advocates of Protestantism in Europe. He was greatly supported in his cause by English Protestant mercenaries. Between 1562-1610 these soldiers fought across Europe although most of their fighting was confined to France, the Netherlands and Spain. An average of 3,000 of these men actively campaigned every year and many were of noble birth, highly educated, politically involved and above all – religiously motivated. The English elite regarded the Huguenots' conflicts as “Jacob's ('holy') wars” and wanted to actively support their co-religionists.

English companies and naval support were key fighting components of Henry IV's operations and were present at many royalist victories including Arques, Ivry, Morlaix and Fort Crozon.

Many English troops were also present at Amiens after 2,000 were initially, but reluctantly, dispatched by Elizabeth I. Additional contingents commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville and Sir Arthur Savage contributed to a total English force of 4,200 men. Savage soon replaced the mortally ill Baskerville and the English were often in the thick of the fighting.

During the Spanish relief attempt in September 1597, the English camp was attacked but the assault was successfully repelled. Their fighting spirit was reflected by the bravery of Sir Arthur Chichester who was wounded in the shoulder during the attack. Chichester had already received a knighthood for his role during the 1596 raid on Cádiz but an impressed Henry IV knighted him again for his valour.

MASSACRES & ATROCITIES

The St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572 was one of many such events during the French Wars of Religion, but who was to blame?

“THE KILLING SOON SPIRALLED OUT OF CONTROL AND THOUSANDS WERE SLAUGHTERED IN WEEKS OF UNBRIDLED BLOODLETING”



This 1880 painting by Édouard Debat-Ponsan perpetuates the idea that Catherine de Medici had a prominent role in the massacre



The French Wars of Religion opened with a massacre of Calvinist worshippers, at Wassy-sur-blaise (or Vassy) in March 1562. There, the retainers of the Duke of Guise first insulted and then attacked a group of Calvinist Protestant Huguenots worshipping. This was the ignition point of the wars but conflict had been building for some time.

Religious tensions between Catholics and reformers such as John Calvin, Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli had been growing since the 1520s. There had been isolated incidents and massacres before, but by 1562 tensions had reached the point of no return. An attempt was made to reconcile Roman Catholics and Protestant Huguenots at the Colloquy of Poissy in July 1561 which recognised Catholicism as the official religion of France but injury and injustice against anyone on the basis of their religion was forbidden. It was too late.

Tensions between Catholics and Protestants who they saw as heretics were already beyond reconciliation. Catholic and Huguenot mobs fought each other in cities and towns all over France, each side accusing the other of atrocities. In the case of accusations of Huguenot atrocities, however, such as the looting of churches, these were simply the iconoclasm of the Protestants, getting rid of the icons and decoration they saw as evidence of the corruption of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the Huguenot armies were already on the move before March 1562 and used Vassy as a pretext for war. The mob violence of Catholic versus Protestant also reveals that the wars were not necessarily top-down affairs. Often the leaders (the Duke of Guise, Catherine de Medici on the Catholic side, and Louis Prince of Condé and Gaspard de Coligny on the Huguenot) are blamed, but religious hatred ran deep.

When Francis, Duke of Guise was assassinated by a Huguenot at Orleans in 1563, his family swore revenge on the Huguenot commander, Admiral Coligny. Francis's sons bided their time and took revenge on St Bartholomew's Day, 1572. To seal the peace at the conclusion of the 'third war' (1568-1570), a marriage between the Huguenot House of Bourbon and the Catholic House of Valois was arranged between Bourbon Henry of Navarre and Margaret.

Most of France's prominent and wealthy Huguenots were in Paris for the wedding on 18 August. A few days later, on 22 August, there was an attempt to assassinate Coligny which failed (he was wounded) but then 22-year-old King Charles IX ordered Coligny and the Huguenot leadership be killed. This began on the night of 23/24 August. The killing soon spiralled out of control and thousands were slaughtered in weeks of unbridled bloodletting.

The massacre started in Paris but soon spread throughout France and massacres occurred in 12 major French cities. The death toll is impossible to calculate but was probably in the tens of thousands. Traditionally, Charles's mother Catherine de Medici has been blamed for the massacre, and was even accused of being its mastermind. The extent of the massacre cannot have been planned as there was no way of knowing that the Catholics of France would take to killing their neighbours, hunting them through the streets, with such ferocious abandon. Other factors also need to be considered. The deep hatred of the Guise family for Coligny, the fear of Huguenot reprisals after his failed assassination, and the clear readiness of the common Catholic people of Paris and France to kill their Protestant neighbours, reveal factors that are equally to blame. The Guises were probably behind the assassination attempt on Coligny even though Catherine has been blamed for that too. In the end it was the Guises who dragged the wounded Coligny from his bed and killed him.

Eventually, on 26 August, Charles declared that the massacre had been ordered to prevent a Huguenot plot against the Royal family – there is no evidence of such a plot. Notices were sent throughout France to prevent further violence although in some of those cities where massacres did occur the authorities claimed that they had received instructions from the king to do so. It does seem as if instructions from Henry, Duke of Anjou and heir to the throne, and the Guise family were sent encouraging more massacres. In several places, however, it was the common Catholic citizens who led the hunting and killing of Protestants without any senior leadership.

There was no single cause to the massacres but religious tensions had reached boiling point and would remain there for years to come.



The followers of Louis I, Prince of Condé captured Lyon, third largest city in France, and were accused of looting the churches

IN THE RANKS



The imposing figure of a German Landsknecht

France's conflicts saw all manner of troop-types, from armed peasants to formations of pikemen, arquebusiers and foreign mercenaries of all kinds

From the determined defence put up by massed pike blocks, devastating volleys of arquebus shot, charges with lance by heavy cavalry gendarmes, to the distinctive arms and dress of the Swiss pikemen and the German Landsknechts, the French Wars of Religion were a series of very modern wars. In battle, siege, massacre and assassination too, they showed how a war of religious hatred could spiral out of control.

ARQUEBUSIER

BATTLEFIELD FIREARMS HAD BECOME A STANDARD PART OF VIRTUALLY ALL INFANTRY FORMATIONS BY THE TIME OF THE FRENCH WARS OF RELIGION

Locally recruited troops as well as mercenaries trained in the use of the arquebus, a hand-held firearm with shoulder stock and crossbow rigger, with a slow burning match to ignite the gunpowder— the heavier musket already existed, was larger, but less common. Arquebuses were dangerous and had a slow rate of fire but with the development of volley fire, they could be devastating on the battlefield. Units of arquebus and pike were usually formed together for mutual protection, and muster-rolls show up to equal numbers of each weapon type in the same formation of French infantry.

Below: Arquebusiers at the Battle of Coutras



LANDSKNECHT

THE SUCCESSES OF SWISS PIKEMEN AS MERCENARIES LED TO MANY IMITATORS, MOST FAMOUSLY THE GERMAN LANDSKNECHT

In addition to recruiting young men of Swabia, Bohemia and other parts of the Holy Roman Empire into pike formations, the Landsknecht were also famous for their large Zweihänder swords. Their dress was also flamboyant and distinctive. Mercenaries had no ties to the local population politically and so could be destructive and cruel. They could be (but were not necessarily) allied to the religious views of their employers. More than one atrocity was attributed to the mercenaries of both sides.

GENDARME

WITH THEIR ORIGINS IN THE KNIGHTS AND THE MAN-AT-ARMS OF THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD, THE NOBILITY OF FRANCE PROVIDED BOTH SIDES WITH GENDARME HEAVY CAVALRY

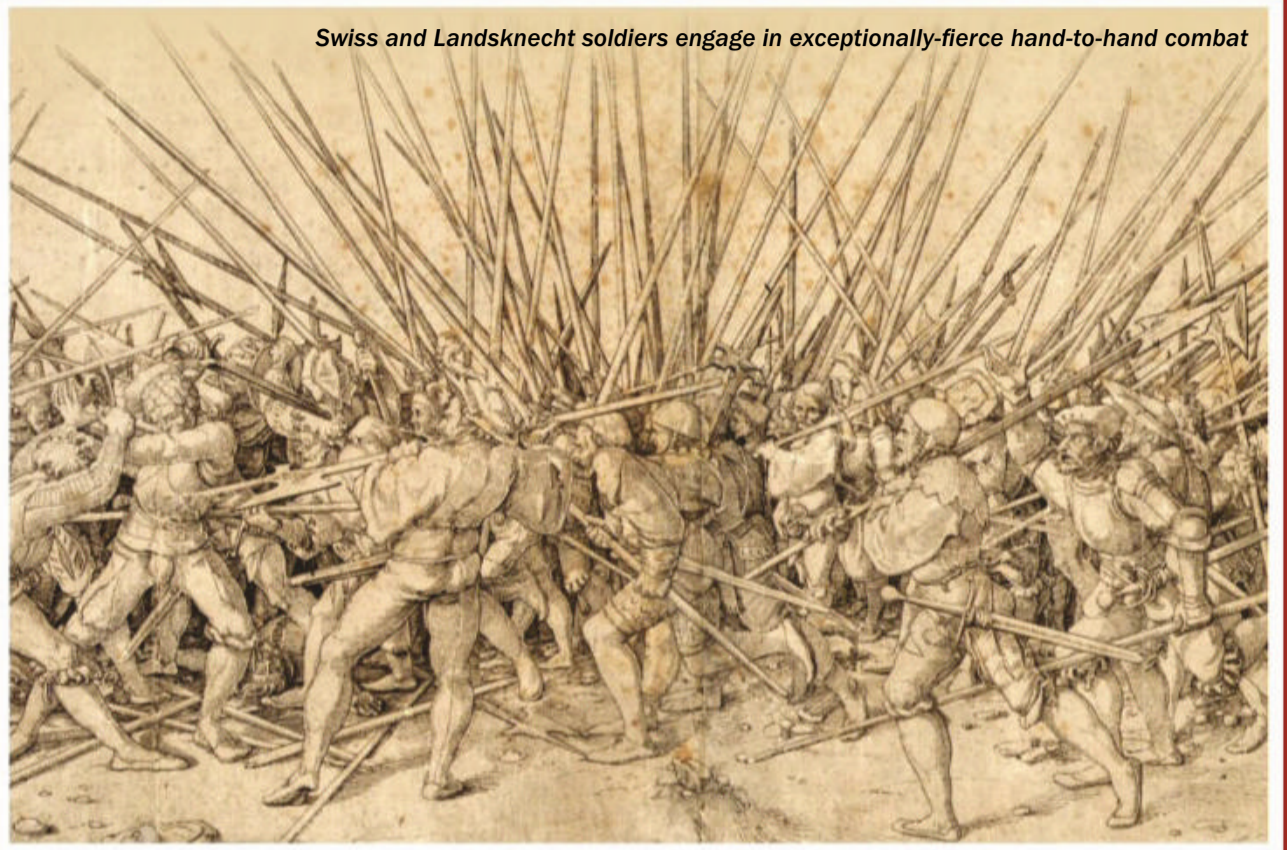
Young men of noble birth provided the heavy cavalry backbone of 16th century French armies. Heavy armoured cavalry were still considered of vital importance and, armed with the lance, they could be employed to devastating effect. Muskets, whose fire could penetrate heavy armour, were still not advanced enough to be a threat initially.

Units were organised into companies of 40 men with 50 light cavalry in support. They were the permanent army of France, and the captain of each company was appointed to raise his unit by the king. Each unit was based in a particular town and could be mustered with mercenaries and other units when needed. In several battles, the gendarmes suffered heavy casualties (including their commanders) and steps were taken to ensure that the royal armies were not outnumbered in that arm thereafter.

At other times the gendarmes were unable to break determined pikeblock defences. In the later phase of the wars, gendarmes faced a new threat – German mercenary cavalry armed with pistols. These brave pistoliers (called Reiters) could penetrate gendarme armour and thus lighter armoured and pistol-armed cavalry began to replace the lance.

Below: Battle of Moncontour, 3 October 1569, between the Catholic forces of King Charles IX of France and the Huguenots during the 'third war' (1568-1570)

Swiss and Landsknecht soldiers engage in exceptionally-fierce hand-to-hand combat



SWISS PIKEMAN

THE PIKE COLUMNS OF THE MERCENARY SWISS HAD TERRORISED EUROPEAN WARFARE SINCE THE LATE 15TH CENTURY. THEY WERE STILL A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH

Following the Hundred Years' War mercenaries became a mainstay of nearly all European armies. Swiss mercenaries (Reisläufer) concentrated their training on deep pike columns and became the terror of Europe. Their formations were recruited from young men of limited prospects and were disciplined, impervious to enemy infantry and cavalry charges. Their deep formation could literally push their opponents from the field. Although they used some other weapons, the pike was dominant, being a long spear between 10 and 25 feet in length.



Image: Getty

HEROES & LEADERS

The French Wars of Religion divided France on religious lines as well as along lines of loyalty to the various families with a claim to the throne



The Duke of Guise was at the very heart of the Catholic-Huguenot conflict

FRANCIS DE LORRAINE DUKE OF GUISE
1519-1563 VALOIS/ROMAN CATHOLIC

Francis was a fervent Catholic and an important military figure. He had served at Boulogne in 1545 and, in 1551 was made Grand Chamberlain of France winning battles against the Holy Roman Emperor and the English. He became a military hero especially after capturing Calais from the English in 1558.

Guise opposed the conciliatory policies of Catherine de Medici towards the Huguenots, and, together with powerful allies, he sought to strengthen the Catholic cause. In 1562 Francis instigated a massacre of Huguenots at Vassy on 1 March. This event marked the beginning of the French Wars of Religion and ignited the religious tensions into armed conflict. The first major battle was at Dreux in December 1562 where Francis swept the Huguenot infantry from the field and then withstood a final Protestant counterattack.

At the siege of Orleans in early 1563, Francis was mortally wounded by a shot fired by a

Huguenot assassin. Francis died six days later, actually bleeding to death under the knives of his surgeons. His assassin was tortured and implicated the Huguenot commander, the Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. The Guise family thereafter continued a personal feud with Coligny which exacerbated the religious conflict and culminated in Coligny's assassination in 1572 as part of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

The Duke of Guise's assassination (rather than death in combat) was a sign of the deep-seated religious hatred at the heart of the conflict. The imbalance the assassination led to the Treaty of Amboise and an end to the 'first war'.

The treaty was hastily drawn up and dissatisfactory to all sides. It led to an 'armed peace' where both sides continued an armed build-up until the outbreak of the 'second war' in 1567 when a group of Huguenots attempted to capture Charles IX in late September.



Catherine has widely been blamed for planning the bloody massacre in Paris, 1572

CATHERINE DE MEDICI
1519-1589 VALOIS/ROMAN CATHOLIC

The widow of the Valois King Henry II, Catherine was queen of France from 1547-1559. She was subsequently influential over her three sons as regent, adviser and a figure of great power (her sons became Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III).

The youth and frailty of her sons added to the political and religious instability in France. Catherine, however, showed a determination to keep the Valois line on the throne. The majority of the Wars of Religion were fought under her rule and influence. Catherine began in the 1560s with compromises to the Huguenots but her attitude hardened and she later supported (and may have instigated) Catholic violence against, and persecutions of, the Protestant Huguenots. Francis II became king at 15 in 1559 but died the following year to be replaced by the ten-year-old Charles IX with Catherine as regent until 1563.

Under Charles, Catherine may have masterminded the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, murdering thousands of Huguenots gathered in Paris for the royal wedding of her daughter Margaret of Valois to Henry of Navarre. When Charles died of tuberculosis in 1574, Catherine was a key adviser to Henry III, who became king at 22 and would remain on the throne until 1589. Under Henry, Catherine's advice was only dismissed in the last months of her life.

HENRY OF NAVARRE 1553-1610 BOURBON/HUGUENOT

Henry inherited the throne of Navarre in 1572, just prior to his marriage to Margaret of Valois, arranged to secure peace after the 'third war' had ended in 1570. Henry barely survived the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, spared because he pledged to convert to Catholicism, a pledge he renounced as soon as he had escaped from Paris.

In 1584 Henry became heir to the throne as the closest male relative of Henry III of France (the two were cousins). This led to a renewal of conflict, and the final 'eighth war' or 'War of the Three Henri's', designed to remove Huguenot Henry of Navarre as heir to the Catholic throne of France. Henry III had support from Henry of Guise (with Spain's backing). In 1587 the Battle of Coutras saw the first Huguenot victory.

Henry of Guise was assassinated in the aftermath of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and, when Henry III died in 1589, Henry of Navarre succeeded him as Henry IV of France. As King of France, Henry had to officially abandon his Protestant faith (the vast majority of the kingdom remained Catholic) but in 1598 he signed the Edict of Nantes which allowed religious freedom in France and is seen by many as marking the end of the Wars of Religion. He was, nonetheless, regarded as a heretic usurper by Catholic fanatics and was assassinated in 1610.

Henry was married to Margaret of Valois prior to the infamous St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572



ANNE DE MONTMORENCY 1493-1567 VALOIS/ROMAN CATHOLIC

Anne had been an important member of the court of Francis I and distinguished himself as a soldier in the early wars of Francis's reign. He was made Marshal of France in 1522. Captured at the battle of Pavia in 1525, he was released and made Grand Master of France in 1526. He fell out of favour in the 1530s but returned to power under Henry II although his great rival Francis, Duke of Guise, held the upper hand. Montmorency retired from court with the advent of Huguenot influence over Charles IX. In 1561 he allied with his former rival and fellow Catholic Guise in the face of the continued Protestant influence.

Montmorency was captured at the battle of Dreux and was then involved in the negotiations for the Treaty of Amboise in 1563. When the 'second war' broke out in September 1567, de Montmorency was on hand to command the royal army at the Battle of Saint-Denis on 10 November. Despite the Catholic army outnumbering the Huguenot forces by 4:1, Montmorency was mortally wounded in the battle and died two days later.

A contemporary portrait of Montmorency by Corneille de Lyon



JEANNE D'ALBRET 1528-1572 BOURBON/HUGUENOT

Jeanne ruled Navarre as Queen Jeanne III in her own right from 1555 until her death in 1572. Her son, Henry of Navarre, ruled after her although he was absent for most of his reign, entrusting its rule to his sister. The Protestant Huguenot movement (adherents to the teachings of John Calvin) was centred in southern and western France and so Navarre was the movement's natural stronghold.

Jeanne converted to Calvinism in 1560 and raised her son Henry (then aged seven) in the same faith. After her conversion, she was the most prominent Huguenot and became the figurehead of the movement both in religious and political terms. She negotiated a peace treaty with Catherine de Medici to end the 'third war' of religion in 1570, arranging the marriage of Henry to Margaret of Valois. Her sudden death in June 1572 meant that Henry became king just prior to the wedding (in August) and the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre which followed.

A 1565 portrait of Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre





ORIGINS OF THE WOLFPACK

The very mention of this infamous tactic conjures images of U-boats massacring merchant convoys. But what was the reality of Dönitz's plan and from where did his idea originate?

WORDS LAWRENCE PATERSON



The origins of Karl Dönitz's fearsome 'Rudeltaktik' – anglicised as 'wolfpack tactics' – can rightly be attributed to the Führer der Unterseeboote (FdU, Commander of Submarines) of the previous war – Fregattenkapitän Hermann Bauer. Bauer maximised the potential of this new weapon in the naval arsenal, his U-boats achieving great success, bringing Britain's merchant shipping balance to near bankruptcy in the first half of 1917. This was achieved with U-boats operating independent of one another or any centralised control. Such fearsome losses prompted the British Admiralty to introduce convoying during that year as a means of 'collective defence'. In response Bauer submitted a proposal to the German naval staff that U-boats alter tactics and be co-ordinated and concentrated on crucial inbound British convoys. He intended to achieve this level of control by means of a large radio-equipped transport U-boat of the Deutschland class that could operate as a mobile command centre at sea. Staffed by trained wireless and decryption personnel, this U-boat would monitor British radio signals to anticipate convoy movements and direct accompanying combat boats to intercept en-masse. However, despite Bauer's sound logic, the proposal was rejected.

Ultimately the First World War U-boats were defeated, though their subjugation was no means a decisive Allied victory as just under half of the operational U-boats that had been built remained combat-ready in November 1918. It was not only improved enemy anti-submarine warfare techniques and the introduction of escorted convoys that had beaten their campaign. Germany's U-boats lacked a powerful charismatic leader capable of forging fresh tactics, rather than accepting the status quo, particularly after Bauer's replacement in June 1917.

While true that the technical limitations of radio equipment aboard the First World War U-boats severely hindered inter-boat cooperation at sea, there were localised efforts at coordinating attacks. One such attempt

took place in the Mediterranean during October 1918 when skippers of two U-boats of the Pola Flotilla planned to sail and rendezvous on 3 October, 50 miles from Sicily's south-eastern corner. There they expected to intercept Allied convoy traffic from the east. However, one boat's departure was delayed by urgent repair work and only UB68 sailed as planned.

This U-boat encountered the enemy on 4 October, sinking 3,883-ton British steamer SS Oopack before being forced to dive by escort ships. Sudden technical problems resulted in a loss of control, and the boat plunged below its maximum rated depth. It was only saved by the commander ordering the ballast tanks be blown, bringing UB68 hurtling to the surface amidst the convoy it had just attacked. Illuminated by flares and searchlights, UB68 was shelled and sunk with four men killed and 33 captured. The young skipper, Oberleutnant zur See Karl Dönitz, was among the survivors:

"In October 1918 I was captain of a submarine in the Mediterranean near Malta. On a dark night I met a British convoy with cruisers and destroyers. I attacked and I sank a ship, but the chance would have been greater if there had been a lot of submarines. That's why the idea of a wolfpack, to put the submarines together so they could attack together, was very impressive. That's why, in all the years from 1918 to 1935 when we had the first submarines again in the German navy, I had never forgotten this idea."

**"AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE
RARELY BECAME A
CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO
U-BOAT SUCCESS, DESPITE
DÖNITZ'S BEST EFFORTS TO CO-
OPERATE WITH THE LUFTWAFFE
FOR THIS PURPOSE"**

Following Hitler's rise to power the German navy was resurgent and in September 1935 Kapitän zur See Dönitz was placed in command of the 'Weddigen' flotilla of small Type II coastal boats. He did not hold the post for long, promoted to FdU within the new Kriegsmarine during the following January, and later to BdU, (Befehlshaber der Unterseeboote, Commander-in-Chief Submarines).

Dönitz threw himself into development of a fresh tactical doctrine for undersea warfare, centred on his wolfpack theories of coordinated group attacks. This technique was first used in large-scale Wehrmacht exercises during the autumn of 1937.

From the U-boat depot ship Saar Dönitz directed several U-boats in locating an 'enemy' convoy, gathering and then launching an 'attack', all with impressive results. Dönitz instructed his youthful skippers to strike with torpedoes while running surfaced at night, using the U-boat's high surface speed, manoeuvrability, and low profile to its fullest advantage. Radar was extremely uncommon on enemy ships at that time and, by this method, British ASDIC location sonar was also rendered useless. The Baltic was too small for Dönitz to fully test his theories on group operations, but repeated requests for permission to stage Atlantic exercises were refused, lest British and French naval authorities misconstrue the presence of U-boats in any strength within the Atlantic while the Spanish Civil War raged. Not until May 1939 did a small number of U-boats undertake any such exercises in the North Sea and, later, west of the Iberian Peninsula.

Though feeling justified in his faith in the wolfpack there remained unanswered questions centred on the two pillars of his theory: control and communications. Was it possible to simultaneously exert command over several U-boats? Did they require authority exercised by an officer at sea? Was it possible to do so from another U-boat or a surface vessel or was it possible from a land-based station? How best to communicate with U-boats when surfaced, at periscope depth or deeper? Finally he still pondered the tactical considerations of



Karl Dönitz
in 1943



Early wolfpack strategy dictated the contact U-boat shadow the convoy until the pack had gathered before attacking surfaced at night

FORWARD TORPEDO ROOM

A Type VII carried 14 torpedoes, which were stored in every available nook and cranny. The torpedo room crew slept either in the smattering of bunks wedged between the missiles and equipment, or simply napped on the floor. The four torpedo tubes were the vessel's main weapons.

DECK WEAPONS

The 88mm deck gun was often employed against merchant shipping, especially if the ship was alone and an easy target. The anti-aircraft gun mounted behind the conning tower tried to fight off Allied air attacks.

PERISCOPES 1 AND 2

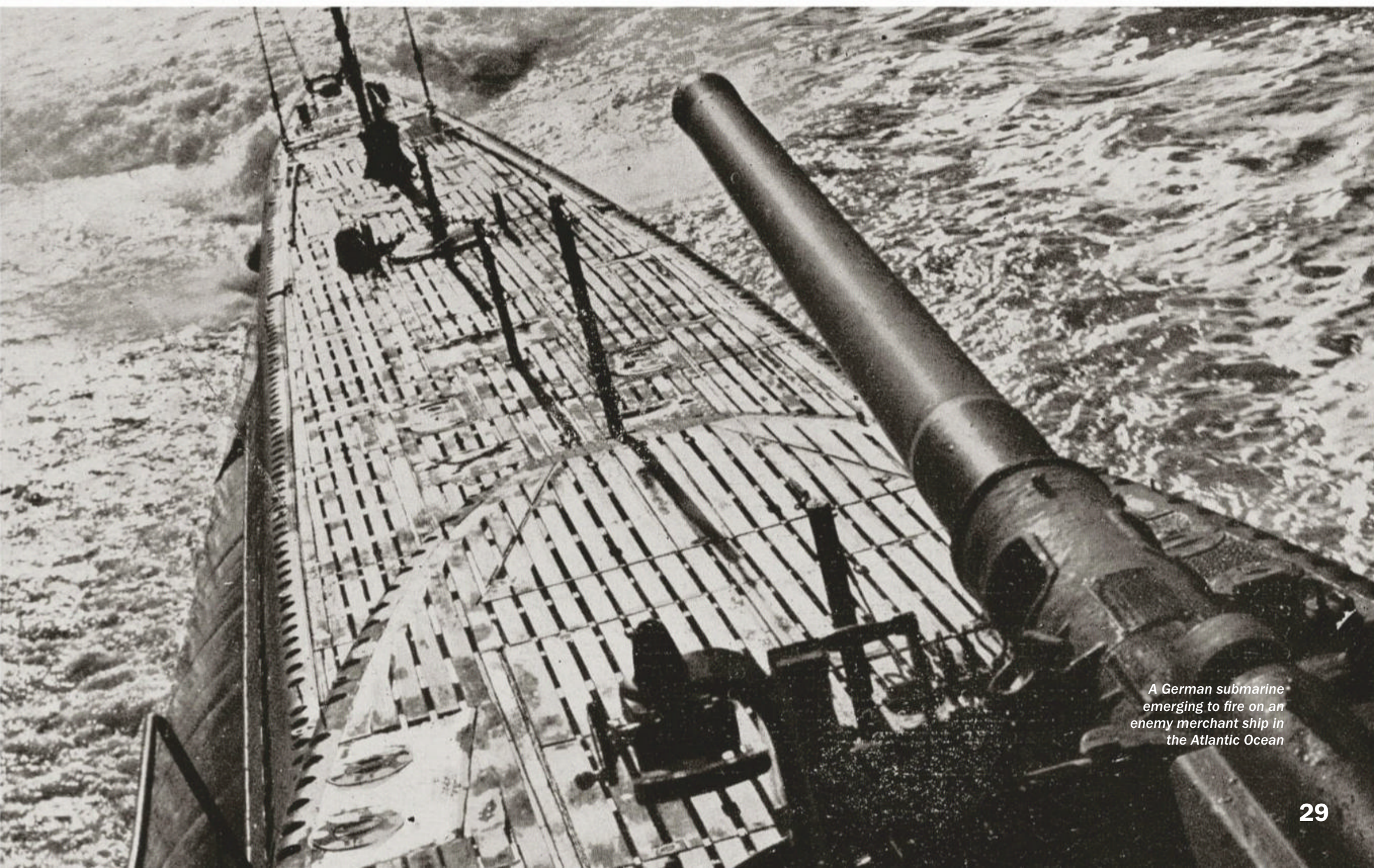
The boat's two periscopes crested the conning tower, which formed the main station for spotting Allied shipping. The control room was positioned immediately below. Men on the bridge were issued with special waterproof clothing, but this provided little protection from the waves crashing over the boat.

RADIO ROOM

It was here that U-boats received their orders, especially important when hunting in wolfpacks. The installations featured both short and long-wave equipment.

MAIN CREW SLEEPING QUARTERS

The majority of the crew shared bunks that were housed off the central passageway. Each cot was 1.8m (5.9ft) long and 58cm (23in) wide and carried a thin mattress. A man on duty and a man off duty shared each bunk.



A German submarine emerging to fire on an enemy merchant ship in the Atlantic Ocean

A FLAWED TACTIC?

Crucial to the efficacy of wolfpack tactics were effective communications and the availability of combat U-boats. These also proved its undoing. Here are three key problems with the infamous Rudeltaktik

1. U-BOAT NUMBERS

Dönitz's wolfpack concept relied on the capability of gathering large numbers of U-boats against a single convoy target, swamping the enemy's defences and causing havoc. However during the heady days of success the Germans still possessed insufficient numbers of Atlantic U-boats to achieve the destruction of merchant

tonnage that was the core principle of the U-boat war. There were too few U-boats for effective reconnaissance until the war was in its third year. By that time the 'old guard' of commanders were largely gone and once a convoy was found, Allied defensive tactics and technology had improved to such an extent that the original principles of surfaced attack and 'one torpedo for one ship' could be effectively countered.



U-boat construction never kept pace with Dönitz's desires until it was too late. Here a new boat is commissioned into the Kriegsmarine at its shipyard

2. HF/DF AND RADAR

The key to gathering a wolfpack was for the contact U-boat that 'shadowed' that target to transmit regular position signals to which other U-boats were directed. The introduction of high frequency direction-finding equipment aboard an increasing number of Allied escort ships enabled escorts to frequently pinpoint the shadower and attack, at

the very least driving it underwater where it was robbed of sight, speed and the ability to transmit. Furthermore, the introduction of the Type 271 radar set in March 1941 enabled a surfaced U-boat to be detected at a range of four miles within a 360° arc of any ship so equipped. Increased escort numbers also allowed more aggressive hunting for a detected enemy who had been robbed by radar of their surface attack capability.



Canadian frigate HMCS Swansea, the most successful U-boat hunter in the Royal Canadian Navy, equipped with Type 271 radar in its Perspex 'lighthouse' at the base of the foremast

The Enigma machine in operation aboard a combat U-boat



3. ENIGMA

With improving communications equipment Dönitz was able to exercise increasingly tighter control over U-boats at sea. To efficiently coordinate a wolfpack at sea, BdU required information regarding both weather conditions and his U-boats' status. These alarmingly frequent signal requests generated a vast amount of radio traffic, encrypted in naval Enigma code. Not only vulnerable to HF/DF, these signals were also broken by Allied cryptanalysts, despite misplaced German faith in the cypher's invulnerability. Intercepted and decoded U-boat signals allowed the re-routing of convoys away from gathering wolfpacks and saved thousands of lives and hundreds and thousands of tons of shipping. Nonetheless periodic Enigma 'blackouts' were suffered by Allied intelligence due to code machine and cypher alterations, the longest – and final major gap – between February and December 1942.

exactly how the U-boats should initially operate – as a group or scattered and summoned to a rendezvous in the event of convoy contact?

Effective reconnaissance was an important prerequisite for any attempted wolfpack operation. The patrol line became the tried and tested method by which echeloned U-boats travelled in parallel with just over two times the radius of visual distance between them. By this method they could, theoretically, comb the ocean to locate the enemy.

In reality, of course, the patrol line was subject to the detrimental effects of bad weather, faulty navigation and flawed intelligence. Aerial reconnaissance rarely became a contributing factor to U-boat success despite Dönitz's best efforts to co-operate with the Luftwaffe for this purpose. Despite eventually being granted control over the bombers of KG40, imperfect Luftwaffe maritime navigation and a lack of aircraft would serve to neuter the effort. The patrol line remained king, requiring many operational U-boats available to make it truly viable. Dönitz reasoned on needing 300 front-line boats by the time of any conflict. This number meant at any one time 100 could be outbound, 100 on station and the last 100 returning for replenishment. As war with Britain and France began in September 1939 newly promoted Kommodore Karl Dönitz went to battle with a grand total of 57 U-boats, 18 of which were available for Atlantic patrols.

The first wolfpacks

The U-boats' opening salvos were generally against ships travelling solo, though British defensive convoying measures began almost immediately. After less than a week of war Dönitz withdrew ten of his most modern Atlantic boats to prepare for his first wolfpack operation against a predicted increase in convoy traffic during October. Unfortunately his originally intended scale of attack was reduced somewhat by U-boats ordered by naval staff for special assignment or unexpected delays in dockyard repair. Ultimately, only a small force of six U-boats was available for the first attempted wolfpack. The group's tactical commander afloat would be Korvettenkapitän Werner Hartmann, senior officer of the Hundius Flotilla and skipper of U37, while Dönitz retained operational command. Hartmann would be accompanied by U40, U42, U45, U46 and U48.

"I have decided to operate the boats against Gibraltar traffic... Success will depend on the boats making a surprise appearance together. They will be ready on different dates and will therefore sail on different days and will occupy an operations area southwest of Ireland, which sinking figures so far have shown to be the best area. When all the boats have arrived there, they will receive orders to proceed... Hartmann will be in U37 as senior officer of this Atlantic group and he will, if necessary, take over control in convoy operations.

"If he finds things are not promising off Gibraltar, he will be authorised to order a new disposition, rather further from the enemy bases, along the west coast of Spain and Portugal. Only north-south bound merchant ships would be picked up here, of course."

The results were best described as mixed. Three of the U-boats were lost as the group assembled, though none as a direct result

"INTERCEPTED AND DECODED U-BOAT SIGNALS ALLOWED THE RE-ROUTING OF CONVOYS AWAY FROM GATHERING WOLFPACKS AND SAVED THOUSANDS OF LIVES AND HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF TONS OF SHIPPING"



“THE ACQUISITION OF CONQUERED FRENCH PORTS GRANTED DÖNITZ IMPRESSIVE FORWARD BASES WHICH SOON HOSTED U-BOAT FLOTILLAS AND NEW GERMAN INFRASTRUCTURE WITHIN FIVE MAJOR ATLANTIC PORTS”

of the pack operation. U40, the last of the group to leave port on 10 October, was sunk in a minefield east of Dover after attempting to shortcut its way to the Atlantic through the English Channel while both U42 and U45 were sunk by escorts during independent action against convoys.

The remaining three boats subsequently experienced some measure of success in a group action against convoy HG3, spotted by lookouts aboard U46 at 8.51am on 17 October. Kapitänleutnant Herbert Sohler briefly lost contact with the merchant ships before sweeping the area and reacquiring the northbound merchant ships sailing under weak escort. U46 shadowed HG3 at a distance until that afternoon when permission to attack was received. Each U-boat sank a single ship before the remainder scattered and managed to shake off pursuit.

Hartmann ordered a reconnaissance line formed, but aircraft deterred pursuit and Hartmann as tactical commander instructed the boats to move towards position 'Schwartz'

off Portugal. U48, now bereft of torpedoes, was ordered home while U46, with limited fuel, achieved nothing more. U37 sank four independently sailing ships.

Though hardly an unqualified success, convoy HG3 had been successfully attacked, but six reported torpedo failures possibly prevented greater achievement. Though it was perhaps telling that both U37 and U48 had experienced far greater success independently of the group, a second wolfpack operation was to be made during the following month.

This time five U-boats were to once again assemble south of Ireland before sweeping towards Cape Finisterre. Unfortunately, this number was also whittled down to just three.

Gales off Ireland forced the boats towards the approaches to Gibraltar where they homed in on shadowing reports from U53 of a convoy northwest of El Ferrol, making contact and attacking. U49 was swiftly damaged by depth charges and forced away, while the remaining boats had no success over a three-day chase, later sinking independently sailing merchants

once the group was dispersed by Dönitz. It was clear that the number of U-boats at sea was insufficient for effective wolfpack actions, while the method of control and coordination required further analysis, and Dönitz suspended further group operations.

The wolfpacks return

Dönitz's U-boats resumed individual torpedo and minelaying missions that harvested a steady toll of British ships. The invasion of Norway in April 1940 absorbed virtually all U-boat strength and subsequent dockyard congestion delayed a return in force to the Atlantic until the end of May with the fall of France imminent.

During that month U-boat construction and the simultaneous return to service of many refitted after the Norwegian campaign finally gave Dönitz enough operational boats to attempt renewed wolfpack missions during June 1940. Kriegsmarine radio intelligence (B-Dienst) reported on 12 June that the heavily escorted fast convoy US3, comprising six passenger liners including the Queen Mary

A swastika flag waves over a harbour for German submarines



ORIGINS OF THE WOLFPACK

and Mauretania carrying 26,000 Australian and New Zealand troops, had arrived in the Freetown sea area.

Simultaneously the same intelligence source revealed detailed information about merchant convoy HX48 entering the Western Approaches and due to rendezvous with its local escort. In coded messages from Berlin, 'Group Rösing' was formed of five U-boats centred around U48 with skipper Korvettenkapitän Hans-Rudolf Rösing, senior officer of 7th U-Flotilla, as tactical commander, to intercept US3. 'Group Prien' was then assembled in a reconnaissance line of six boats through which HX48 was expected to pass with U47 and Kapitänleutnant Günther Prien in tactical command. All boats were ordered to maintain radio silence, though neither contacted their target convoys and were dispersed to resume independent operations. Although radio intelligence from the B-Dienst service continued to provide accurate and valuable information, the limited visual range of lookouts atop a low U-boat conning tower proved an insurmountable obstacle.

Meanwhile the acquisition of conquered French ports granted Dönitz impressive forward bases which soon hosted U-boat flotillas and new German infrastructure within five major Atlantic ports. French bases also increased available shipyard capacity, reduced transit time to and from the Atlantic battleground and therefore, in theory, boosting the number of combat boats at sea.

Furthermore Germany now also had possession of several powerful land-based radio transmitters on the French Atlantic coast, most notably the very low frequency (VLF) stations at Croix Dhins and Basse Lande which

augmented the existing transmitter situated in Nauen near Berlin.

Very low frequency signals were capable of transmitting one-way wireless messages to submerged U-boats, though the depth at which they could receive such signals was dependant on distance, power of the radio signal, the frequency used and salinity of the sea water. In general an absolute maximum of 20 metres could be reached before contact was lost.

The long antenna required to transmit VLF signals could not be accommodated aboard a U-boat and they were therefore unable to reciprocate a message without surfacing to transmit in high frequency.

However this proved somewhat beneficial as U-boats were invisible to radar if submerged and impervious to Allied direction finders if not transmitting, maximising their greatest advantage – invisibility.

In the interim Dönitz, now headquartered in 18 Boulevard Souchet, Paris, had further refined his wolfpack tactics. With the increased radio capability, he believed that the U-boats were best coordinated from the land headquarters. A tactical commander afloat was no longer considered necessary and had proved inefficient in the past as the tactical leader's boat had sometimes been compelled to dive by enemy escorts, immediately leaving the remaining U-boats leaderless. Constant tactical control from the situation room at BdU remained the logical solution.

Furthermore Dönitz's new doctrine relied on the contacting U-boat to shadow its convoy without attacking while BdU coordinated the deployment of other boats to form the wolfpack at sea. Cooperation between the U-boats

themselves was maintained by visual signals if possible, or radio watches on a pre-arranged shortwave frequency. BdU would re-transmit at fixed times any messages received from U-boats, allowing all in a group to maintain an overall view of each other's movements. Once in position, BdU would grant permission to attack, with each skipper then acting independently once the action had begun.

With many British destroyers held back in home waters to counter the threat of German invasion, escort numbers decreased, providing fortuitous timing for Dönitz as he opened a new wave of wolfpack attacks in 1940. Success grew exponentially. In September Prien's U47 found HX72 while on weather reporting duty and low on ammunition at the end of a successful patrol. As he shadowed Dönitz quickly assembled the experienced skippers of U99, U48, U65, U38, U43, U32 and U100 to attack and together they sank 11 of the 41 merchant ships at no loss to themselves. It was a good beginning but it would be the following month that the pinnacle of wolfpack achievement was reached.

After briefly being sighted and reported by U48 on the night of 16 October, the slow SC7 convoy of heavily laden merchants shook its shadower free before being reacquired by U38 the following day. The convoy had left Nova Scotia eleven days previously bound for Liverpool, a planned speed of 8 knots reduced after many older, smaller vessels proved incapable of this pace.

Thirty-five merchant ships departed Canada, but almost immediately some straggled as bad weather separated them from the main body and two subsequently sank while sailing alone. A pair of Royal Navy sloops and a single



Teaching the principles of attack. A Knight's Cross-holding veteran instructs officer candidates in the art of convoy attacks



Kapitän zur See Karl Dönitz watches flotilla exercises from the U-boat depot ship Saar

First World War U-boats nearly severed Britain's maritime trade during 1917 but could not counter British defensive convoying when introduced

GOLIATH AND THE GRID

Effective communications remained a cornerstone of the wolfpack principle, as did navigation and location technology

Rather than relying on standard latitude and longitude positioning for global positioning the Kriegsmarine – like the Luftwaffe and Army – developed their own charts using a grid reference system. The world's oceans were divided into major areas, generally square though sometimes irregularly shaped near land masses. Each of these large areas was identified by a two-letter code (eg AE, CD, EH etc), and further subdivided into a three by three matrix of nine squares, in turn subdivided twice again by the same method.

Further complicating the chart for enemy intelligence, these were produced using the standard Mercator's projection, meaning that squares covering the same actual area became smaller as they neared the equator. This grid chart, which was both complex to decipher for the Allies and simple to use for those in possession of it, allowed precise navigational

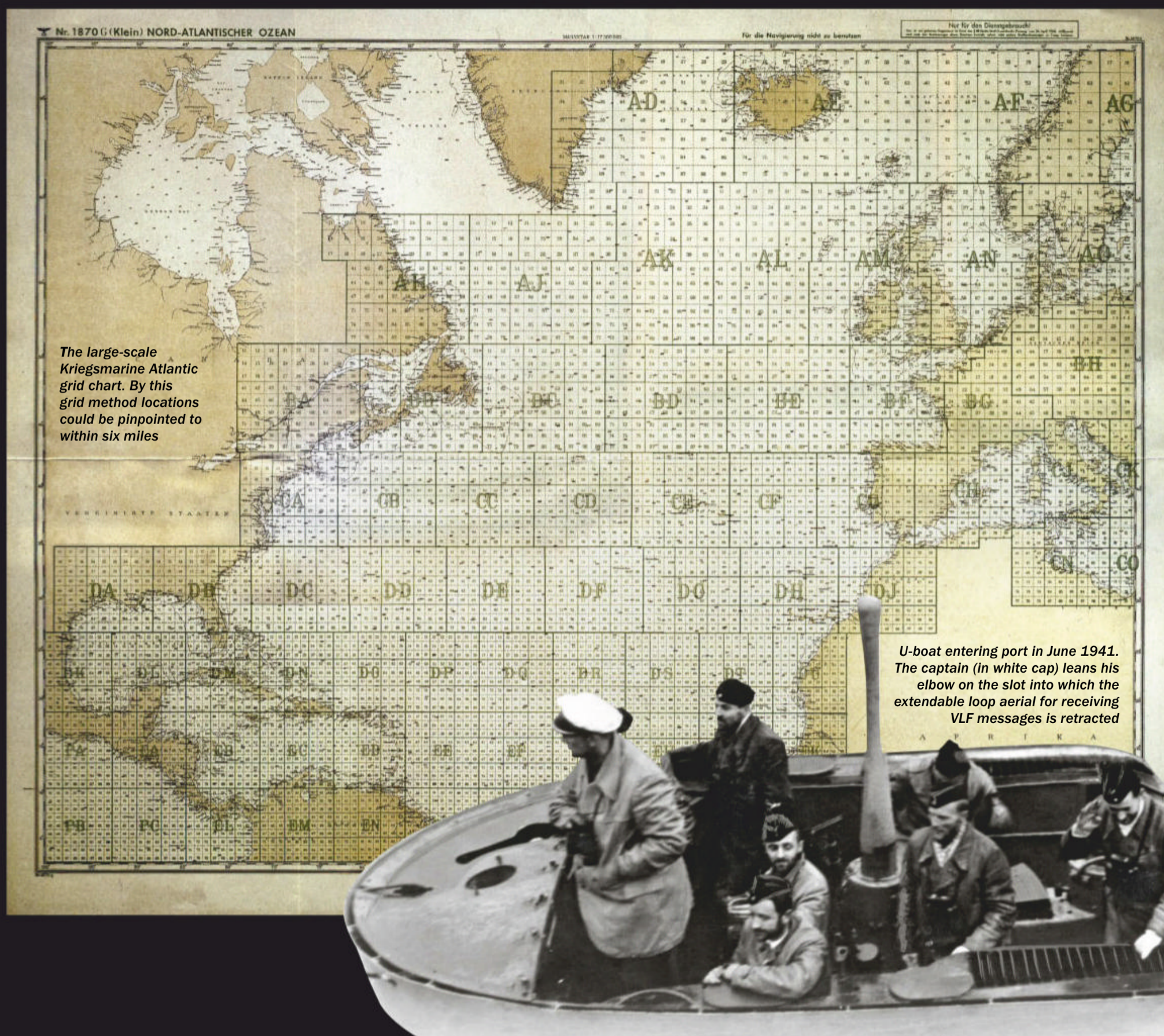
points to be located within an error margin of six miles. For example the location CG9575 would place a U-boat at the entrance of the Strait of Gibraltar.

Such precise navigational instructions were transmitted to U-boats from BdU operations and to complement the installations at Nauen and on the French Atlantic coast, from 1943 to the war's end the U-boat service utilised the most powerful transmitter of its time. Its antenna required an area of three square kilometres

and therefore could not be accommodated at Nauen, constructed instead near Kalbe in central Germany. Named 'Goliath' its VLF transmissions could be received by submerged U-boats within the Caribbean and Indian Oceans by their use of an extendible loop antenna which functioned underwater while the U-boat could maintain a top speed of 8 knots.

However, by the time that Goliath entered service the Rudeltaktik had nearly been defeated by Allied naval technology, tactics and aircraft. In March 1943 Dönitz concentrated 44 U-boats against convoys HX229 and SC122, 16 of them sinking 22 ships for the loss of a single U-boat in a near perfect pack attack. Just two months later, energised Allied escort forces repulsed repeated group attacks and 41 U-boats were destroyed. Conceding defeat with such unsustainable losses, Dönitz was forced to finally withdraw his Atlantic wolfpacks.

“FROM 1943 TO THE WAR'S END THE U-BOAT SERVICE UTILISED THE MOST POWERFUL TRANSMITTER OF ITS TIME”



The large-scale Kriegsmarine Atlantic grid chart. By this grid method locations could be pinpointed to within six miles

U-boat entering port in June 1941. The captain (in white cap) leans his elbow on the slot into which the extendible loop aerial for receiving VLF messages is retracted



Wherever possible, U-boats would communicate via visual signals or audibly, reducing unwelcome radio traffic that could betray their presence

corvette were in escort as the first torpedoes hit. Dönitz had gathered U38, U46, U48, U99, U100, U101 and U123 as SC7 sailed directly into the U-boat patrol line. Within three nights one of the bloodiest convoy battles of the war was fought and resulted in unmitigated disaster for the Allies. In total they lost 20 merchant ships, with a further two damaged, and in return experienced no success against the attacking U-boats. One hundred and forty-one merchant sailors were killed in what the German newspapers quickly dubbed 'The Night of the Long Knives'. Action was broken off as the shattered remnants of SC7 reached the comparative safety of the North Channel. While some U-boats already departed after exhausting their torpedoes, others diverted to strike convoy HX79, which also lost 12 ships and two others damaged before the attackers ran completely out of ammunition.

The 'Happy Time'

The wolfpack theory that Dönitz had nurtured since his own days in combat was finally fully vindicated. Nonetheless challenges remained. The nautical area required to enable surfaced U-boats to assemble an effective patrol line had moved the boats further west into the Atlantic Ocean away from the heavily patrolled and constricted North Channel and its approach to Liverpool. This placed expected convoy interception points in the open ocean, also allowing them to effectively reroute around any

detected U-boat concentration. Locating the convoys became perhaps the biggest problem for the wolfpacks with negligible Luftwaffe assistance and too few Atlantic U-boats.

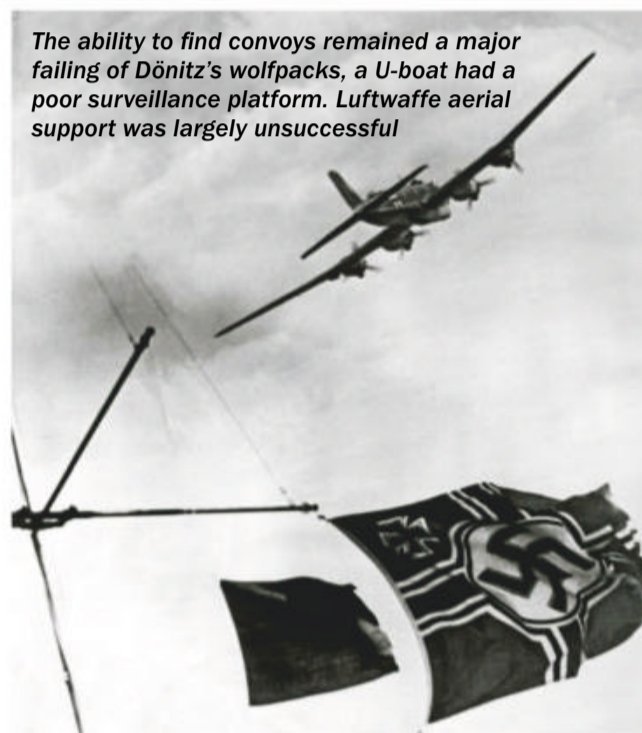
Nonetheless the period between July 1940 and March 1941 when the wolfpacks truly began to bite has often been referred to as the 'Happy Time' for U-boat crews. But at least one of the veterans involved recalled this entire period in a completely different light.

Otto Kretschmer, the highest 'scoring' U-boat ace of the Second World War remembered, "The 'Happy Time.' I don't like this term. We were the first ones to probe the defences of the enemy and this was not a happy time because 50 per cent of our forces perished. I remember when I was with U99 and went into the Atlantic for the first time, I found out that before me there were six submarines sent to the Atlantic and three were sunk. Fifty per cent losses. So, this is called the 'Happy Time'? I don't know why. And, of course, we had been trained during peace time and we had to discover whether the peace time tactics were any good for war, which they were not at all times... The 'Happy Time' had been invented by Propaganda Kompanie in Germany; they were the first to speak about it."

Though undoubtedly a sound tactical doctrine, the real success of the wolfpacks primarily resulted from the tenacity and bravery of the U-boat commanders at a time when Allied defences were undeveloped and understrength. 'Aces' such as Kretschmer,



Werner Hartmann (in white cap), pictured here late in the war as commander of U198, was tactical commander of the first attempted wolfpack



The ability to find convoys remained a major failing of Dönitz's wolfpacks, a U-boat had a poor surveillance platform. Luftwaffe aerial support was largely unsuccessful

Joachim Schepke (U99), Günther Prien (U47) and Herbert Schültze (U48) piloted their U-boats at speed inside the convoy body, running surfaced and firing to left and right.

This fearless aggression sank dozens of Allied ships, but it was soon exhausted by veteran commanders transferred to larger ocean-going long-distance U-boats, moved ashore to train the next generation of skippers, or lost in action.

In March 1941, three of those most famous U-boat skippers – Kretschmer, Prien and Schepke – were all lost.

Although the wolfpacks were far from defeated and their depredations of Allied shipping would continue into 1943, the real 'Happy Time' of the wolfpacks was already over. While they continued to operate until 1943, they would rarely achieve such convincing results as during the latter half of 1940.

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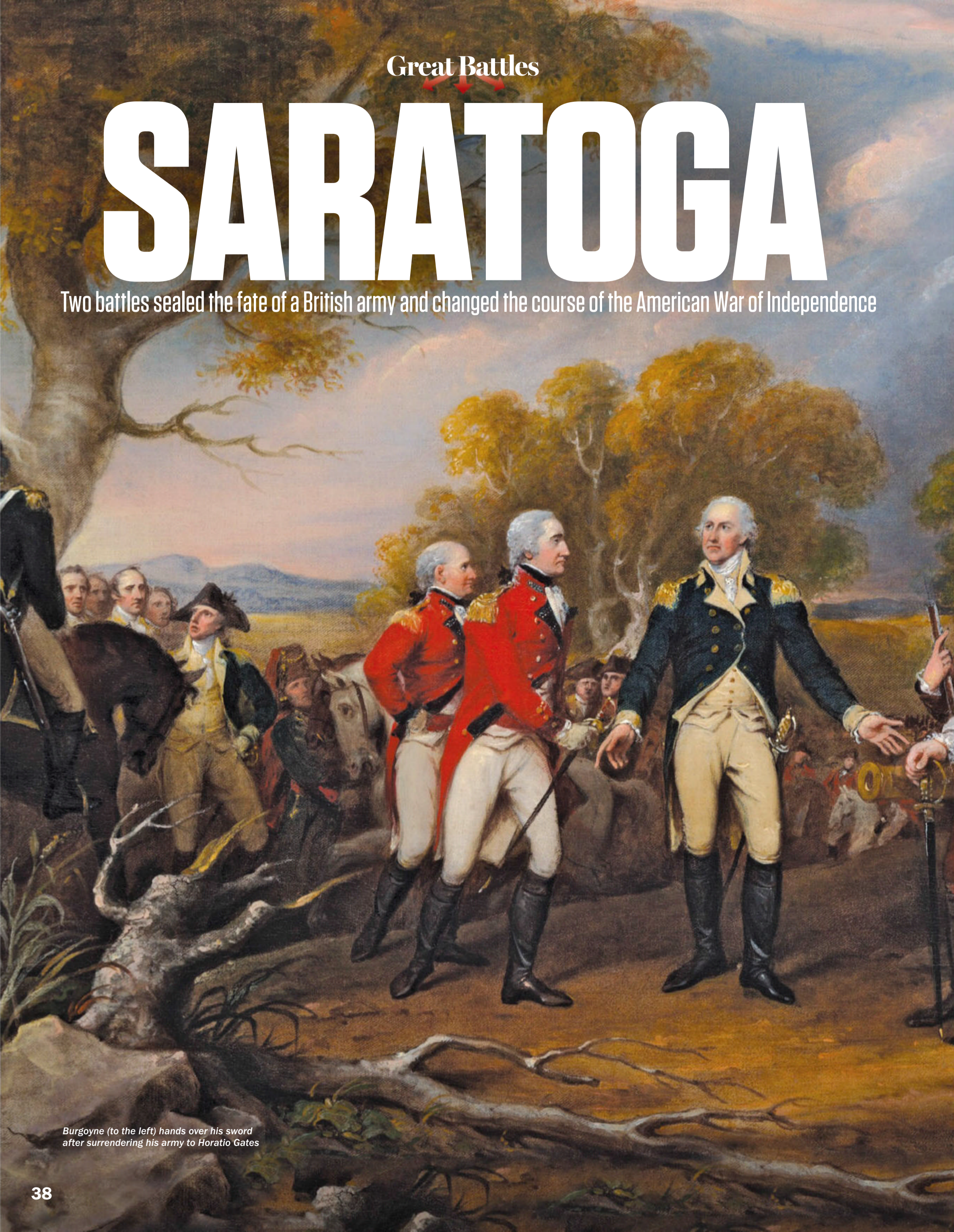
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The Lightning served to inspire a great many people to join the Royal Air Force and for many, is still an enduring symbol of when the British aviation industry was at the peak of its manufacturing prowess.

Great Battles

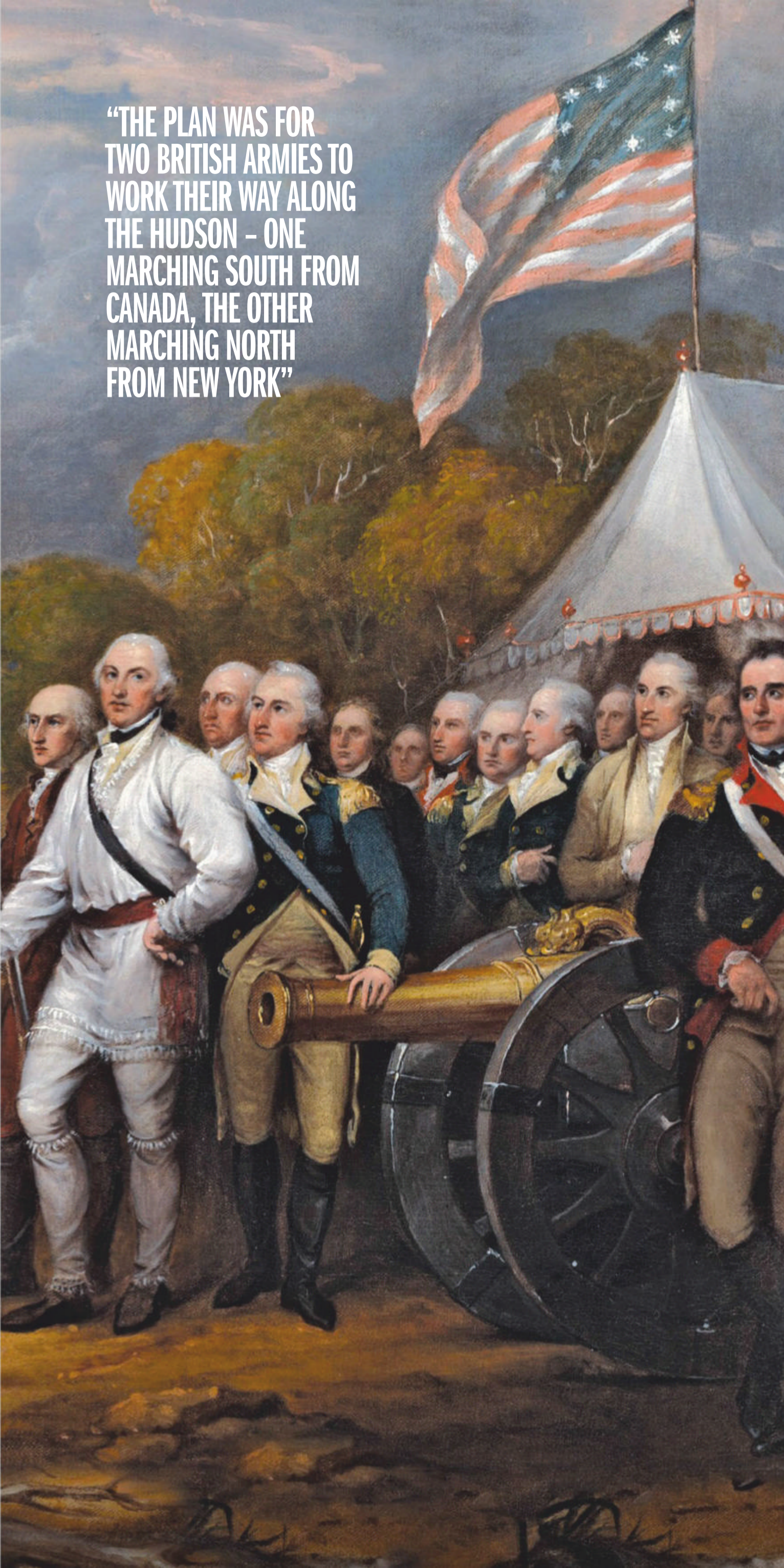
SARATOGA

Two battles sealed the fate of a British army and changed the course of the American War of Independence



Burgoyne (to the left) hands over his sword after surrendering his army to Horatio Gates

“THE PLAN WAS FOR TWO BRITISH ARMIES TO WORK THEIR WAY ALONG THE HUDSON – ONE MARCHING SOUTH FROM CANADA, THE OTHER MARCHING NORTH FROM NEW YORK”



NEW YORK STATE, USA
19 SEPTEMBER
& 7 OCTOBER 1777

WORDS DAVID SMITH



If British plans had gone according to schedule, the critical battles around Saratoga may have happened a year earlier. A co-operation of forces along the Hudson River had been a huge keystone of British strategy from the very start of the American War of Independence, and a link-up of two armies was originally planned to take place in 1776.

The ‘Hudson strategy’ was almost unanimously agreed upon by British military and political leaders. Dividing the rebellious American colonies in two would theoretically prevent commerce and movement of men between the warlike New England provinces and the food-producing middle and southern colonies. In order to achieve this deceptively simple goal, the plan was for two British armies to work their way along the Hudson – one marching south from Canada, the other marching north from New York. In 1776 Sir Guy Carleton commanded in Canada, but made little progress. Meanwhile, William Howe occupied New York (winning a knighthood for himself in the process) but also failed to make any move up the Hudson. This lack of urgency in the implementation of the strategy forced the British to shelve their plans until the following year.

The strategy would be revisited in 1777, but this time a more vigorous commander was chosen for the army marching southwards. John Burgoyne (known as ‘Gentleman Johnny’) was an amateur playwright but he took his soldiering seriously. He had lobbied hard for the command of the ‘Canada Army’, returning to London to speak personally with ministers and the king over the winter of 1776-77. He had written detailed papers on how the war should be prosecuted and had met with a favourable reception.

No such change had been made to the command structure in New York. Howe, having performed well in 1776, had the confidence of the king and the American Secretary, Lord George Germain. However the plans Howe submitted as commander-in-chief in North America ought to have caused concern. A decisive move up the Hudson was part of his original plan, submitted before the end of the



American riflemen from Col. Daniel Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps at the Battle of Saratoga by Hugh Charles McBarron Jr

OPPOSING FORCES



**CANADA ARMY
(BRITISH)**

LEADER: John Burgoyne

INFANTRY: 7,000

CAVALRY: None

ARTILLERY: 26 field pieces

VS



**NORTHERN ARMY
(AMERICAN)**

LEADER: Horatio Gates

INFANTRY: 8,000

CAVALRY: None

ARTILLERY: None

1776 campaign, but before long those plans had morphed into something entirely different. Howe had changed his mind and intent, focusing his efforts on the capture of Philadelphia. Any help offered to Burgoyne would be incidental at best.

As the start date of the campaign neared, this did not seem to be a cause for concern. Burgoyne was confident of making rapid progress and seemed to view a supporting army from the south as optional, rather than essential. He would have around 10,000 men with him, although only 4,000 of those would be regular British troops and the vast majority of the redcoats would be inexperienced. With almost 4,000 hired German soldiers, known collectively as 'Hessians', and a smattering of Native Americans and Canadian labourers, the army was not built to sustain losses in a series of pitched battles. The key to success would be speed of movement.

Opposing Burgoyne's march was an American army under Philip Schuyler. The makeup of this 'Northern Army' would change over the duration of the campaign, especially with the coming and going of militia units. Largely derided by the British (and even American commanders despaired at their unreliability), militia units were well suited to the territory through which Burgoyne would be marching. Ambushes, hit-and-run tactics and the destruction of roads could make life miserable for the British army.

With a target of Albany, Burgoyne prepared his men for the march and only Henry Clinton, second-in-command to Howe in New York,

seems to have had any misgivings at this early stage. "With respect to any army from Canada penetrating as far as Albany," Clinton wrote in a personal memo before the campaign opened, "it is a great doubt to me whether 'tis practical or expedient. As to the first, certainly not so without a co-operation in great force up the Hudson's river."

Clinton's voice often went unheard in the circle of British generals running the war, but his words would prove to be prophetic.

On 13 June the Canada Army set forth. A smaller, diversionary force of 2,000 men also set off along the Mohawk River, aiming to join Burgoyne at Albany. On 25 June Burgoyne reached Crown Point and he took the American-held Fort Ticonderoga in early July, pressing on quickly to Skenesboro. The British had already achieved more than Carleton had the previous year.

On 11 July Burgoyne wrote to Howe, brimming with confidence and sure of his ultimate success. The first part of his march,

“THE ARMY WAS NOT BUILT TO SUSTAIN LOSSES IN A SERIES OF PITCHED BATTLES. THE KEY TO SUCCESS WOULD BE SPEED OF MOVEMENT”

however, had been little more than a mirage. The Americans were about to make sure things got a lot more difficult.

It was also ominous that, when Howe received Burgoyne's letter, he was embarking his troops to travel by sea to Philadelphia. Howe wrote back to inform Burgoyne that he would be unable to offer assistance and unable even to communicate for weeks.

Perhaps over-confident, Burgoyne waited too long to resume his progress. Schuyler's men were therefore given time to devastate the area through which the British would be marching. Having fallen back to Fort Edward, 23 miles from Skenesboro, the rebels tore up the road, felled trees, damned streams and devastated crops. With the weather also taking a turn for the worse, the British slogged their way southwards. Having made swift progress at the start of the campaign, they now had to literally build their road as they progressed, plagued by swarms of biting insects and frequently ambushed by small parties of rebels. It took 20 days for Burgoyne to cover the 23 miles to Fort Edward. In that time, the perilous position of the army began to manifest itself.

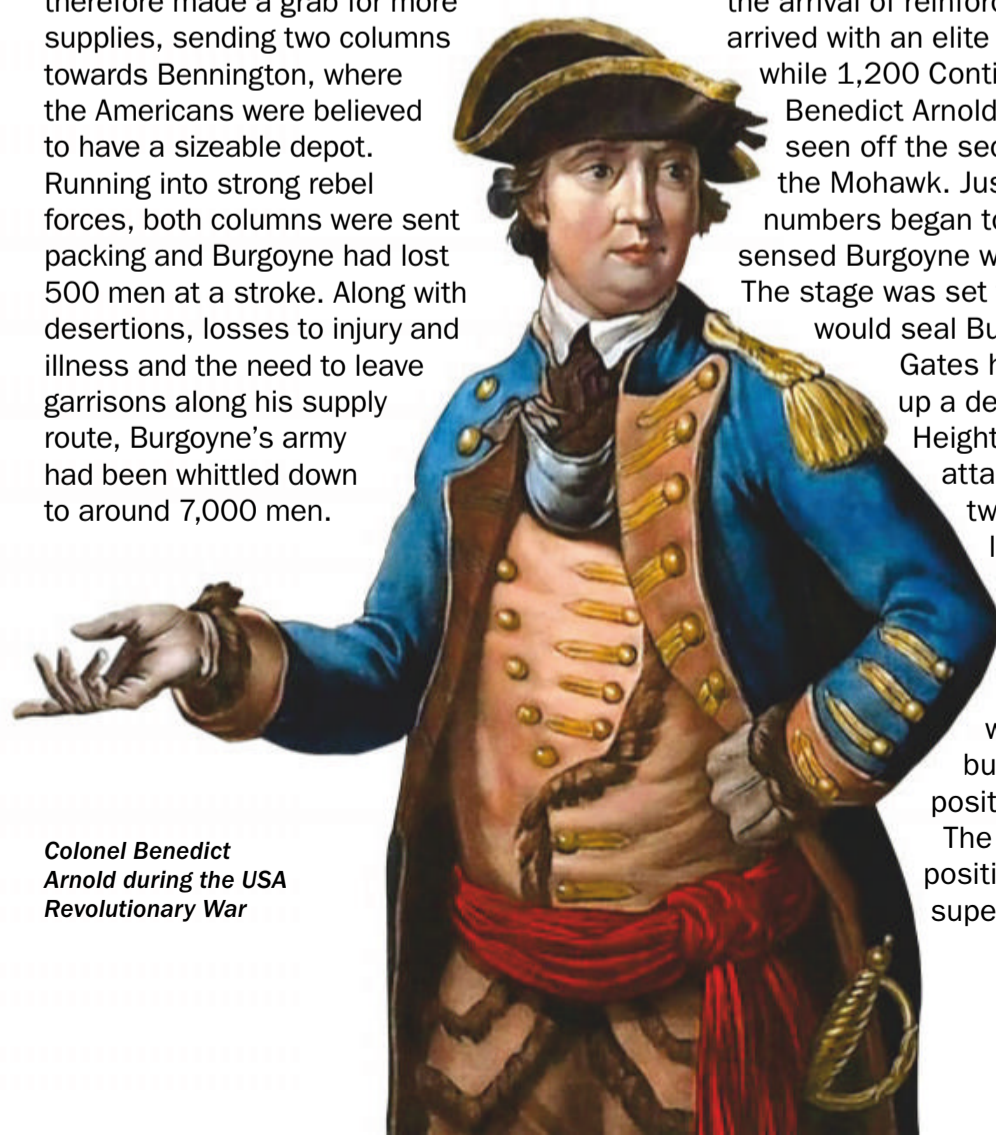
Burgoyne had asked for 500 supply wagons, but had received just 200. He had requested 400 horses for his artillery, but had received just 237. A force of 2,000 Canadian labourers had been considered essential for the hard work needed on the march, but only 300 had been provided. Burgoyne now found his army bogged down, short on supplies and with

Benedict Arnold falls wounded at the Battle of Bemis Heights, but the British position has been fatally compromised



a highly vulnerable line of communications stretching back to Canada.

At Fort Edward, Burgoyne received a reply to his letter to Howe. Now aware that no army would be supporting him from the south, he suddenly felt isolated and struggled to come to a decision. Halting his march would be considered cautious. Retreating would be unacceptable. He therefore made a grab for more supplies, sending two columns towards Bennington, where the Americans were believed to have a sizeable depot. Running into strong rebel forces, both columns were sent packing and Burgoyne had lost 500 men at a stroke. Along with desertions, losses to injury and illness and the need to leave garrisons along his supply route, Burgoyne's army had been whittled down to around 7,000 men.



Colonel Benedict Arnold during the USA Revolutionary War

Just as the momentum of the campaign began to shift, the Americans replaced Schuyler (whom they believed had been too timid) with Horatio Gates. A former British Army officer (he and Burgoyne had once served together in the same regiment), Gates excelled at staff work but was not a gifted tactician or strategist. Still, his hand was strengthened by the arrival of reinforcements. Daniel Morgan arrived with an elite regiment of riflemen, while 1,200 Continental infantrymen under Benedict Arnold also joined him, having seen off the secondary British force along the Mohawk. Just as importantly, militia numbers began to swell as the Americans sensed Burgoyne was getting into difficulties. The stage was set for the two battles that would seal Burgoyne's fate.

Gates had determined to take up a defensive position at Bemis Heights and invite a British attack, leaving Burgoyne only two alternatives: he could launch an assault, or call off his march and attempt to retreat. With American forces already menacing his supply lines, retreat was an unpalatable option, but attacking Gates's strong position was also risky.

The Americans held their position with numbers slightly superior to Burgoyne's, and

they also had the benefit of prepared defences. At a point where the road to Albany was squeezed between high ground and the river, the Americans were dug in. Reconnaissance revealed that the Americans had left an area of high ground to their left unoccupied and Burgoyne saw this as an opportunity. If he could take that position, he could force the Americans out of their defensive works.

Burgoyne chose to attack in three columns. To the right, Simon Fraser marched against the left flank of the American position with the main striking force. Burgoyne himself was with the centre column, along with James Hamilton. The left column, which would advance down the road that ran along the river, was commanded by the German officer Friedrich Riedesel.

The American strategy was sound. British troops had been invited to assault prepared defences on numerous occasions, most notably during the bloody fighting in the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. Burgoyne had almost no options when it came to replacing casualties, and if the momentum of his march could be halted, he was finished.

Gates, however, was in a cautious mood. He wanted to prevent the British from even reaching his defences on the Bemis Heights, but was not prepared to commit too many troops to do so. The units he released for action would be marshalled by Benedict Arnold.

The battle started badly for the Americans. Sentinels based at Freeman's Farm were hard pressed by the advance units of the centre

FIRST BATTLE OF SARATOGA (FREEMAN'S FARM) 1777

02 THE CENTRE COLUMN

Brigadier General James Hamilton, with Burgoyne in tow, commands the centre column, comprising 1,700 British regulars. This column will see the heaviest fighting.

04 THE FIRST CLASH

Advanced units of both armies meet near Freeman's Farm. Daniel Morgan's riflemen, supposed to operate with the support of a light infantry battalion, instead go into action independently and are driven back by the British under Burgoyne.

07 AMERICAN REINFORCEMENTS

The Americans steadily funnel fresh units into the action. Gates refuses Arnold's request to launch a major assault on the British, but Arnold is able to use the new arrivals to plug gaps and hold the line.

05 THE HEART OF THE BATTLE

The most heated fighting breaks out around Freeman's Farm, lasting four hours and seeing repeated advances from both sides. Burgoyne's army sustains its heaviest losses here (the 62nd Regiment suffers over 160 casualties, while the 20th loses more than 115 men).

01 THE RIGHT COLUMN

Brigadier General Simon Fraser commands the strongest of the three British columns, made up of redcoats, Native Americans, Loyalists and French Canadians, and numbering around 2,400 in total. He is backed up by more than 500 German troops.

06 FRASER HELD UP

Originally intended to take the high ground to the left of Gates's position on the Bemis Heights, Brigadier General Simon Fraser's column (the strongest of the three) is held up by American forces and unable to help Burgoyne's centre column.

03 THE LEFT COLUMN

Major General Frederick von Riedesel leads around 1,600 Hessians along the river road, making slow progress and needing to repair several bridges.

08 RIEDESEL TO THE RESCUE

As dusk approaches, Riedesel is finally ordered to break off his advance down the river road and come to the aid of Burgoyne. His intervention is timely and allows the British to claim a victory, but in Burgoyne's own words, "no fruits, honour excepted, were obtained." In fact, his army has been fatally weakened.

column of British troops. The arrival of Daniel Morgan's riflemen temporarily swung the fighting in the Americans' favour, but they over-pursued and were in turn sent fleeing by the British. The bulk of Burgoyne's centre column, three regiments strong (a fourth regiment was held back as a reserve), then emerged from the woods bordering the farm and onto cleared land, in disciplined battle lines, dumping their heavy knapsacks in anticipation of hard fighting.

"AN ARMY THAT HAD ENVISAGED LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN MARCHING TO ALBANY HAD BEEN REDUCED TO A SMALL-SCALE OPERATION IN A DESPERATE SEARCH FOR PROVISIONS"

American units were arriving piecemeal. The 1st New Hampshire Battalion was next on the scene, but was forced back by the powerful British advance until reinforced by the newly arrived 3rd New Hampshire Battalion. More units flowed in, including a battalion of Connecticut militia, the 2nd New Hampshire Battalion, the 2nd and 4th New York Regiments and still more Connecticut militia. Light field artillery helped the British compete against the steady influx of rebels, but did not give the decisive edge they might have.

The Americans employed no artillery in the battle (their guns were held back in the defensive works on Bemis Heights), but the British were unable to make their advantage count. "Not a shot from their field pieces took effect," commented one American officer, "except upon the limbs of trees." Nevertheless the four British guns became a focal point of the battle. American marksmen peppered the gun crews, killing most of them and, as the fighting ebbed and flowed over the farmland, the guns were repeatedly threatened with capture.

To the west of Freeman's Farm, Fraser's column was held up by a brigade of Americans, preventing them from lending their weight to

'Gentleman Johnny' Burgoyne was confident of success when he set off on his march towards Albany, but that soon changed



Map: Rocio Espin



the assault of the centre column. The third British force, under Riedesel, was largely unoccupied, but was held up on the river road due to a series of destroyed bridges (the bridge over Kroma Kill had taken half the day to repair). Part of this column, however, under the command of Phillips, did break off to support the centre. Receiving no call for help, although the noise of battle carried clearly to the German troops, Riedesel continued with his careful progress until he received direct orders. He was to bring the bulk of his men to attack the Americans' flank at Freeman's Farm.

Moving quickly, it was still dusk by the time Riedesel reached a ravine to the east of Freeman's Farm. As they moved through the trees the open ground suddenly came into view, littered with the bodies of both American and British soldiers as the fighting raged. An American advance was forcing back the beleaguered British troops, and Riedesel immediately sent two of his companies across a bridge and into the Americans' flank. Two guns quickly followed, while the bulk of his

“RIEDELSEL HAD ARRIVED JUST IN TIME. ALONG WITH ELEMENTS OF THE BRITISH 21ST REGIMENT, HIS MEN FORMED AND CHARGED INTO THE WOODS, DRIVING THE AMERICANS OFF AND SAVING THE DAY”

men were ordered to find their way through the ravine as quickly as possible.

Riedesel had arrived just in time. Along with elements of the British 21st Regiment, his men formed and charged into the woods, driving the Americans off and saving the day.

The Battle of Freeman's Farm, also known as the First Battle of Saratoga, would go down in history as a British victory, but it was a

Pyrrhic one. They had inflicted more than 300 casualties on the Americans, but at a cost of close to 600 of their own. More importantly, those men had been expended in the capture of a farm. The British had not come close to the main American defensive lines.

Benedict Arnold is credited with a masterful display of leadership on the American side. His steady introduction of fresh battalions enabled him to answer every thrust of the British with a parry of his own. Had the British broken through, momentum may have allowed them to storm the main American lines and open the door to Albany. As it was, further fighting was expected the next day, but Burgoyne needed time to reorganise his army following their severe losses. Word then arrived from Clinton in New York that he might be able to stage a rescue mission.

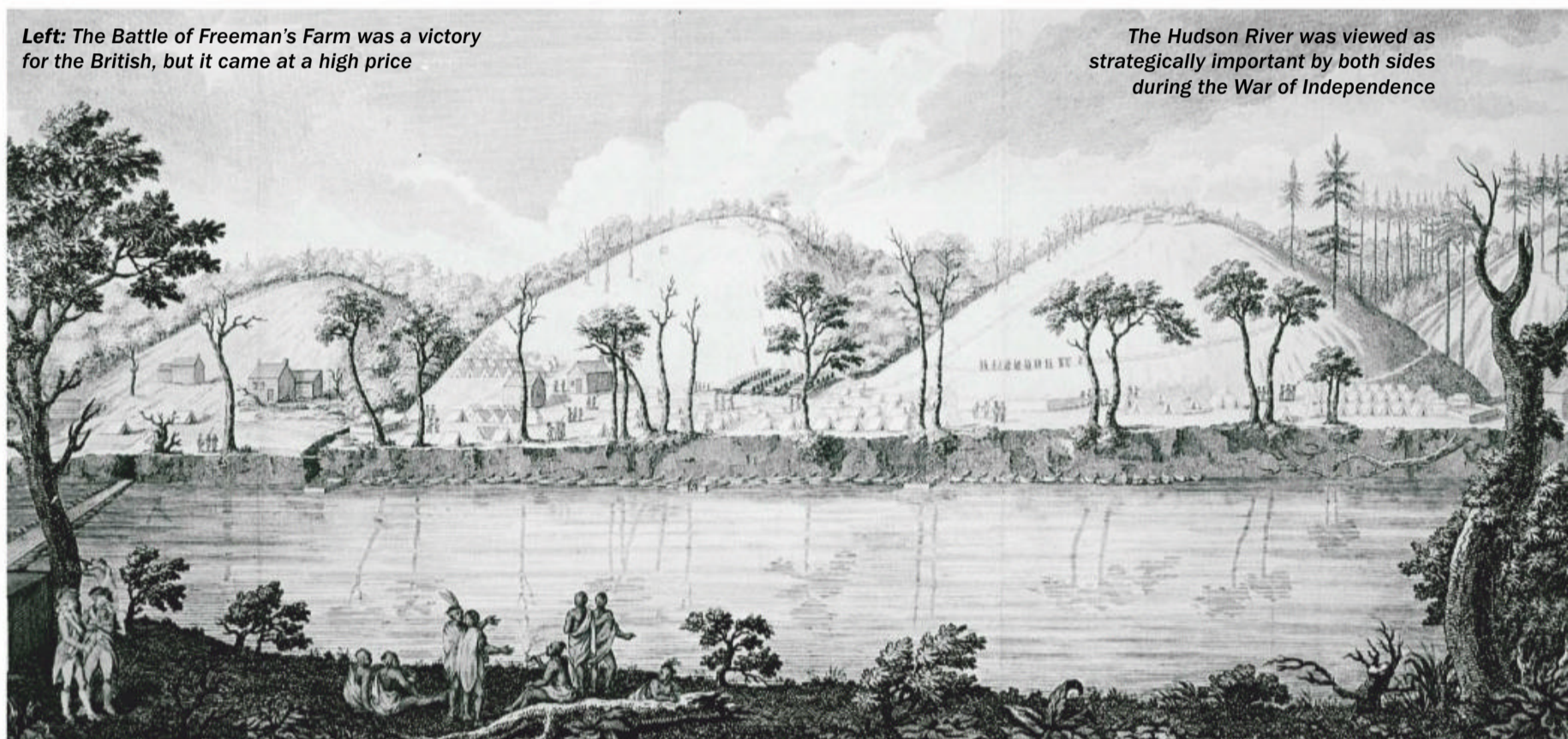
Clinton revealed that he was going to take American fortifications in the Hudson Highlands, opening the route from New York to Albany. Although Clinton's actions were bold and effective, they were too late. Reports were



Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga by Percy Moran

Left: The Battle of Freeman's Farm was a victory for the British, but it came at a high price

The Hudson River was viewed as strategically important by both sides during the War of Independence



coming in that the American army was growing as militia gathered. Burgoyne estimated he now had 12,000 men in front of him, with more behind. As many as 20,000 New England militia are estimated to have joined Gates by this time.

After waiting two weeks to hear more from the south, Burgoyne organised a tentative reconnaissance-in-force on 7 October, utilising around 1,500 men, with the intention of turning it into a foraging mission if possible.

Burgoyne's men once more advanced in three columns, but the position they took up was weak and caught the attention of the waiting Americans. Gates authorised simultaneous attacks on both flanks of the British, and while Morgan hit the British right, Enoch Poor tackled the left. Both flanks wilted under the pressure and the Americans were soon attacking the centre of the line as well.

The reconnaissance party was now forced back onto defensive works, but the Americans pushed their advantage and when a redoubt on the British right fell, the position became untenable. Burgoyne withdrew his entire army.

The Battle of Bemis Heights (the Second Battle of Saratoga) had been one-sided, and the most peculiar aspect of it was the faulty dispositions of the British troops, as well as the pathetically limited intentions of Burgoyne's reconnaissance. An army that had envisaged little difficulty in marching to Albany had been reduced to a small-scale operation in a desperate search for provisions.

Burgoyne could see that all hope was now gone. Only the miraculous appearance of fresh troops from the south could salvage the situation, and Burgoyne even wrote to ask Clinton for orders on how to proceed, a clear sign that he had accepted the inevitability of defeat and was searching for excuses.

Clinton's rescue mission, however, had been called off when Howe demanded reinforcements be sent from New York to Philadelphia. Burgoyne surrendered his army on 17 October and attempted to defend himself in any manner possible.

Blaming the lack of flexibility in his orders, the absence of support from Howe and even

casting aspersions on the fighting spirit of his German soldiers, he threw blame in all directions. The survivors of his army, numbering a little more than 5,000, were originally planned to be sent back to Britain under terms of the convention Burgoyne signed with Gates. However, suspecting that the British would break the spirit of the agreement, the Americans kept the 'convention army' in captivity, marching it around the colonies as it evaporated due to desertions and illness. The final remnants were not released until the end of the war in 1783.

FURTHER READING

★ **THE GENERALS OF SARATOGA: JOHN BURGoyNE AND HORATIO GATES**, MAX M. MINTZ

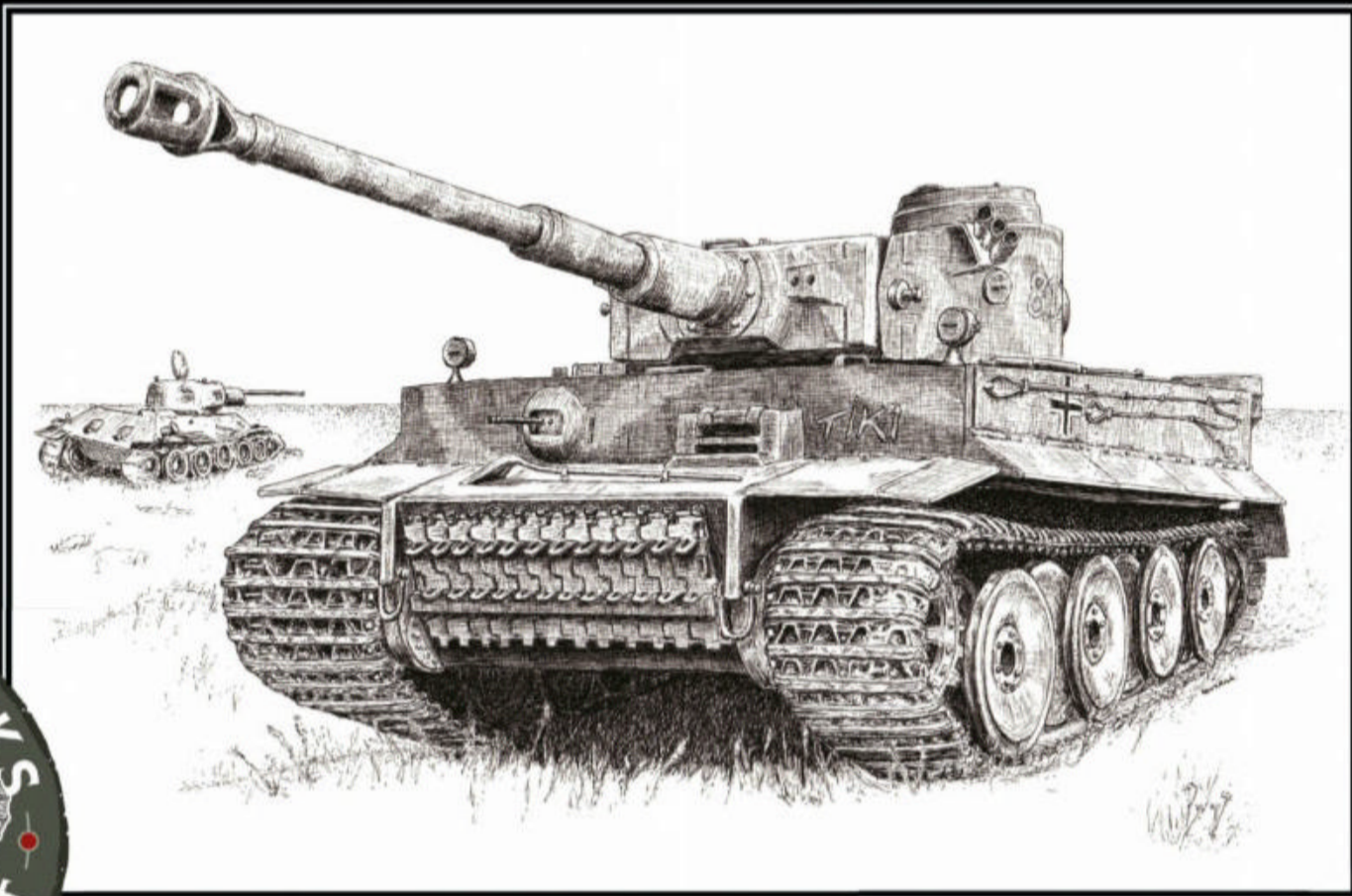
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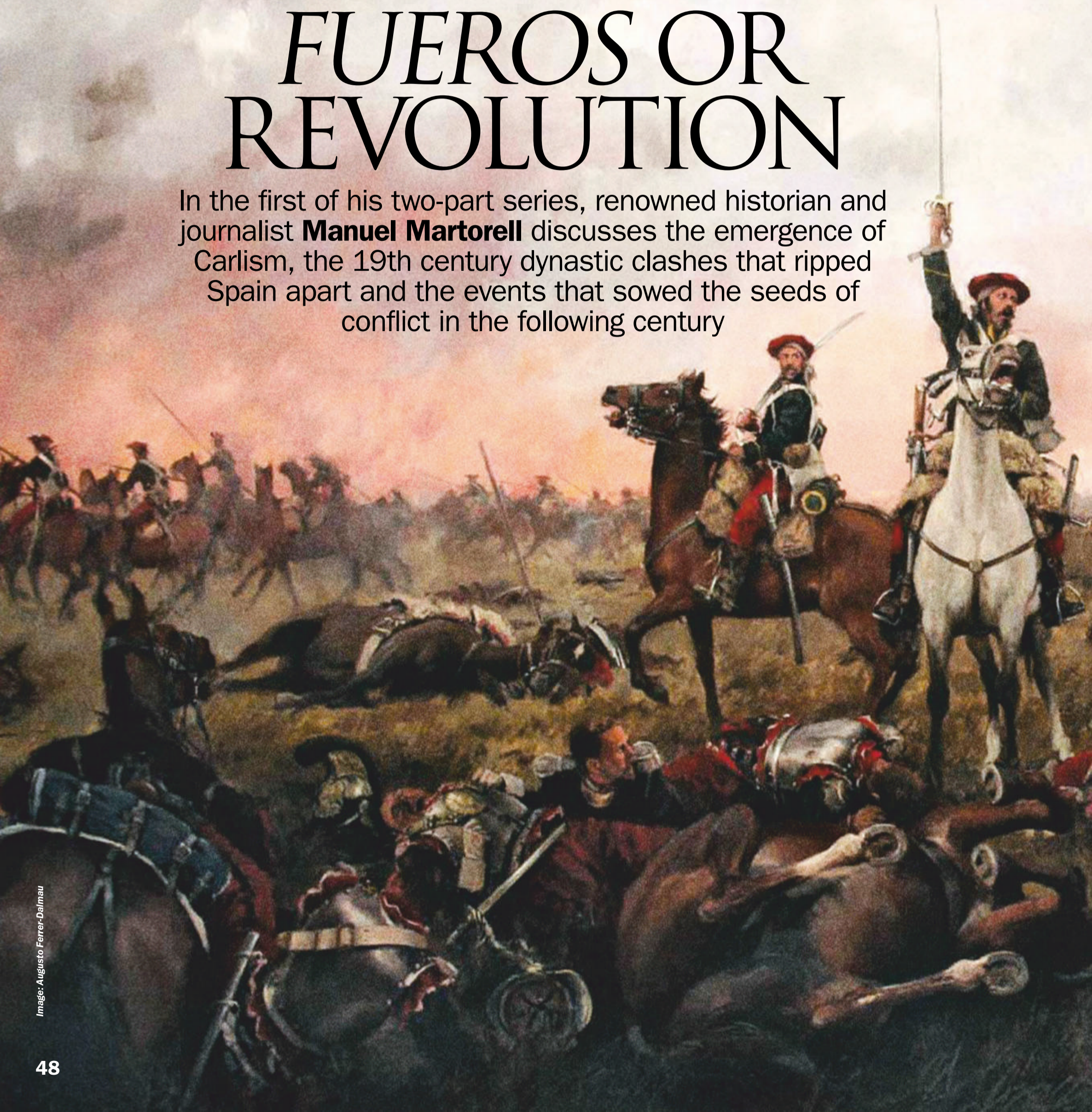
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CARLIST

FUEROS OR REVOLUTION

In the first of his two-part series, renowned historian and journalist **Manuel Martorell** discusses the emergence of Carlism, the 19th century dynastic clashes that ripped Spain apart and the events that sowed the seeds of conflict in the following century



WARS

PART 1

Carlistism can lay claim to being one of the oldest political movements in Europe. Founded more than two centuries ago Carlism enjoyed an extraordinary level of popular support across much of Spain and gave rise to three civil wars between 1833 and 1876, conflicts that dealt a severe blow to the cause of liberal reform.

The spark that ignited the Carlist uprising and the confrontation between liberals and those known as traditionalists had its roots in the dynastic conflict caused by the sudden and ultimately fatal illness of King Fernando VII in September 1832. The ideological clashes that raged in the Spanish Court prompted the ailing

monarch to successively approve and then repeal what was called the “pragmatic sanction”.

Fernando was determined to see his daughter Isabel, who was not even two years old at the time, confirmed as Spain’s future queen under the regency of his wife María Cristina. This ran contrary to a piece of legislation enshrined in Salic Law under which limitations were placed on the right of female access to the throne. Fernando’s opponents rallied to the cause of the king’s brother Carlos María Isidro, who they proclaimed to be the rightful heir.

Federico Suárez, one of the leading historians of this dynastic conflict, maintains that the liberal bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the king’s illness,

“CARLISM ENJOYED AN EXTRAORDINARY LEVEL OF POPULAR SUPPORT ACROSS MUCH OF SPAIN AND GAVE RISE TO THREE CIVIL WARS BETWEEN 1833 AND 1876”

On 24 August 1837 General Oraa tried to stop the Royal Expedition in Villar de los Navarros. Oraa was defeated and the Carlists found free way to Madrid. Painting by Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau



came together in a coup that was in reality nothing short of a revolution.

Supporters of the liberal movement, composed of a minority confined to the large cities, the Mediterranean coast, Andalucía and some prosperous Cantabrian enclaves, closed ranks around María Cristina in defiance of the supporters of Don Carlos. The Carlists were drawn mainly from rural Spain, which at that time accounted for almost 80 per cent of the country's economy. They also drew a limited amount of support from segments of the urban population. After carrying out a broad purge of Carlists within the army and the

government, the ruling liberal party focused their efforts on restoring the values set out in the Cádiz Constitution of 1812, Europe's first national charter which enshrined the doctrines of liberalism.

The objective was to dismantle the structures inherited from the old regime under Fernando VII, which they interpreted as an obstacle to their political and economic policies. They were particularly determined to curtail the powerful influence of the Catholic church and Spain's ancient regional laws, or *fueros*, which granted the Basque Country and Navarre special privileges such as

their own tax collection system, the right to refuse to serve in the Spanish armed forces and ownership of vast estates that were administered along feudal traditions.

The Carlists, on the contrary, considered a written constitution unnecessary. Spain's old traditional kingdoms, such as Navarre, claimed to have their own government structures, under which the Spanish monarchy was considered part of a federative structure. They were also fierce defenders of the church, in what was largely a rural society.

This situation gave rise to the concept of the 'Two Spains', each incompatible with one another's political and social values. It was only a matter of time before these irreconcilable camps were to engage in open warfare.

That moment came on the death of Fernando VII on 27 September 1833 when Don Carlos and everything he stood for was denounced as anathema to the infant queen's adherents, the *Cristino* liberals. At first, numerous factions emerged from Carlist strongholds across

“THIS SITUATION GAVE RISE TO THE CONCEPT OF THE ‘TWO SPAINS’, EACH INCOMPATIBLE WITH ONE ANOTHER’S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES. IT WAS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THESE IRRECONCILABLE CAMPS WERE TO ENGAGE IN OPEN WARFARE”

Troops of the British Legion during the battle of Arlaban on 16 and 17 January 1836, near Vitoria. They had to retire due to heavy snowfall
Painting by Josep Cusachs





A group of British soldiers returns to their regiment passing through the Old Square of Vitoria, where the Legion of Evans had its base of operations

FOREIGN INTERVENTION

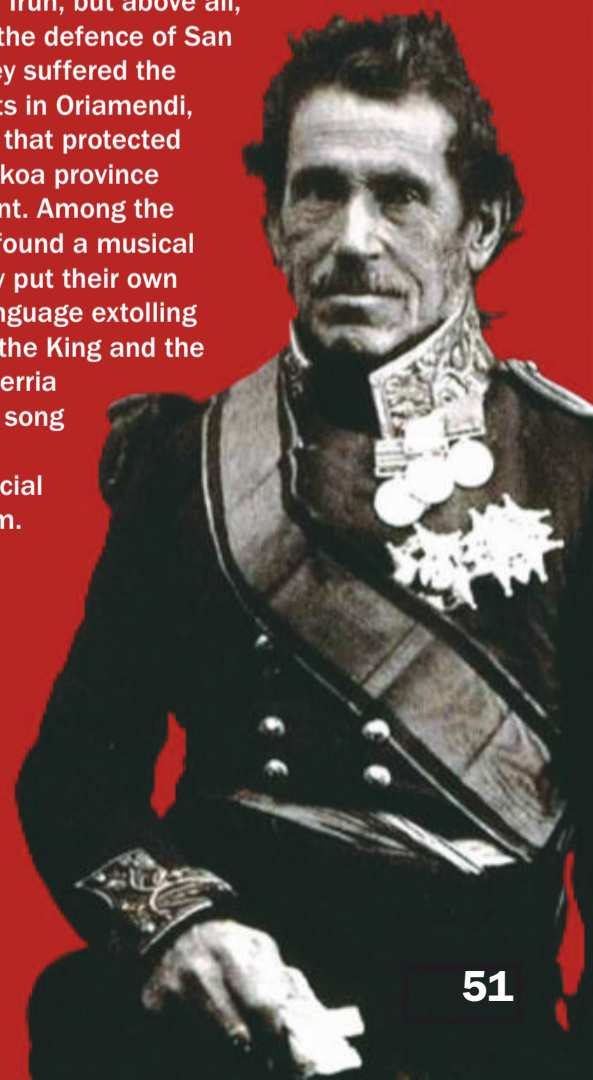
France, Portugal and especially Great Britain sent troops to help Spain in the framework of the Quadruple Alliance

Foreign intervention in the First Carlist War was carried out in application of the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Portugal and Spain to defend the liberal monarchies. In the case of Spain the request for help came from the Cristino military chiefs who came to the conclusion that they needed help to end the Carlist uprising in June 1835. France sent the Foreign Legion commanded by General Bernelle. It was decimated in the battles of Huesca and Barbastro. The Portuguese expeditionary body did not have a big military relevance because it was deployed in Castile and Extremadura where there was little Carlist activity.

For its part the British Auxiliary Legion, with some 10,000 volunteers and under the command of Sir George de Lacy Evans, landed in San Sebastián between July and August 1835.

Initially the British were assigned to Vitoria where they spent a hard winter and lost 800 men, mainly due to diseases. In this city the baker José Elgoez was accused of introducing poison into the bread distributed to the Auxiliary Legion and was condemned to death by "vile garrotte".

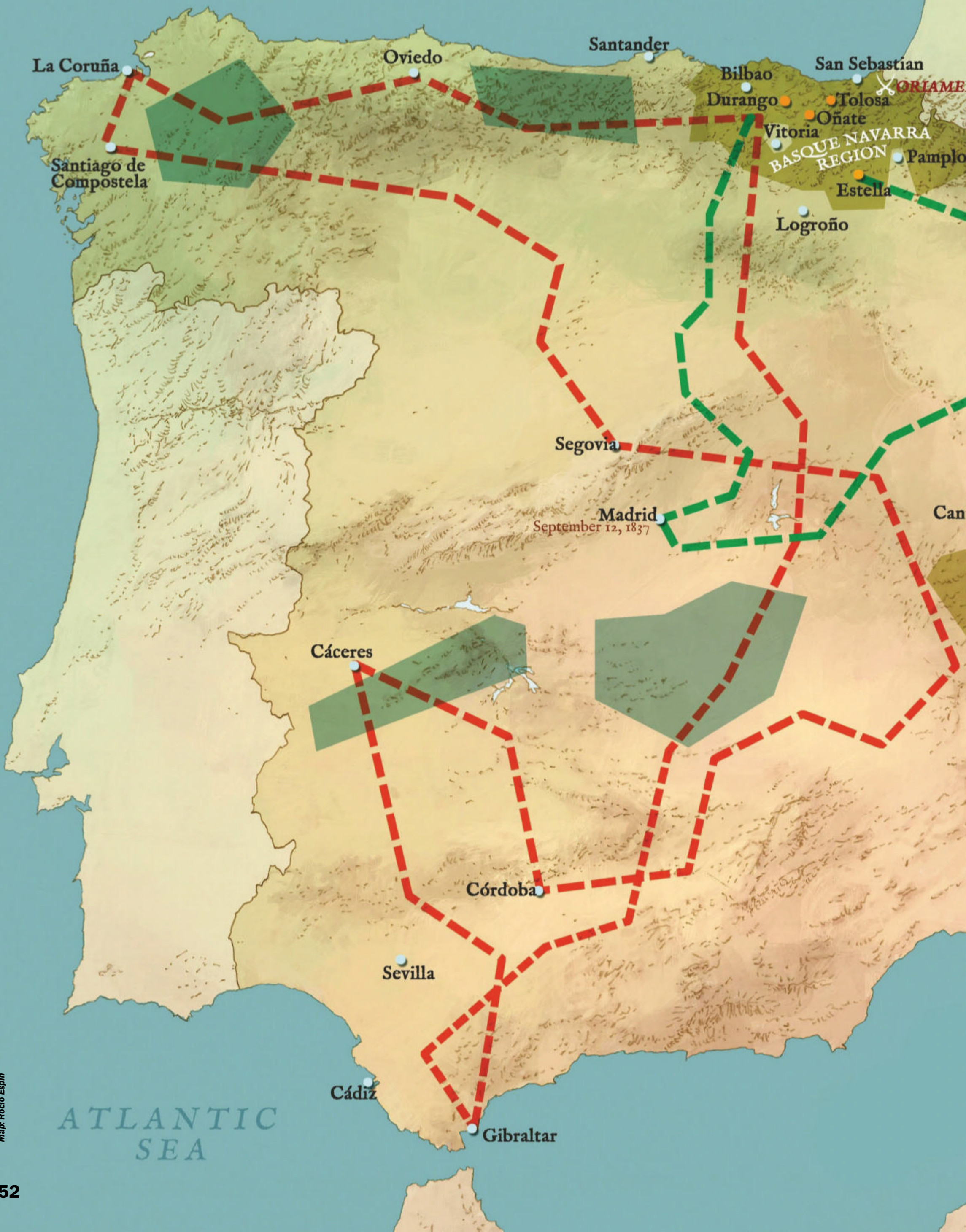
The British intervened in the battle of Luchana to support General Espartero and break the second siege to Bilbao. They also helped in the conquest of the cities of Hernani and Irún, but above all, they participated in the defence of San Sebastián where they suffered the worst of their defeats in Oriamendi, a fortified elevation that protected the capital of Gipuzkoa province on the southern front. Among the booty, the Carlists found a musical score to which they put their own lyrics in Basque language extolling their love for God, the King and the fueros of Euskal Herria (Basque Country), song that would end up becoming the official anthem of Carlism.



Sir George de Lacy Evans who commanded the British Legion during the First Carlist War. He was also a member of Parliament



Above: In 1835 Francisco Espoz y Mina, captain general of Catalonia, ordered to shoot Maria Grinyo, mother of the Carlist chief Ramón Cabrera





Above: The Carlist infantry, in this case from Navarre, used rifles with bayonets



“THE CRISTINOS BURNT CROPS AND DESTROYED FLOUR MILLS IN ENEMY TERRITORY. THEY ALSO SET FIRE TO THE VILLAGE OF LECÁROZ AFTER EXECUTING ONE OUT OF EVERY FIVE MALE INHABITANTS”

- Effective Carlist control areas
- Areas of strong Carlist activity
- Liberal cities
- Cities under Carlist control
- — — — Expedition of General Gómez
- — — — Royal Expedition (May-October 1837)

Spain to proclaim the legitimacy of their leader, whom they considered to be King Carlos V. Nevertheless almost all army garrisons remained faithful to María Cristina and her liberal party supporters.

General Pedro Sarsfield, a Spanish army commander of Irish descent, was one of the first to take to the field of battle, leading the liberal army of Navarre in what became the First Carlist War. His task was to disperse the forces of Jerónimo Merino, a former priest and guerrilla fighter, who had gained notoriety as one of the heroes of the Peninsular Wars.

Sarsfield's objective was to defeat Merino and capture the two key Basque cities of Bilbao and Vitoria, which were in the hands of the insurgents. The top military commander loyal to Don Carlos was Field Marshal Santos Ladrón de Cegama, who managed to escape liberal forces in the northern city of Valladolid. On 30 September Santos reached Logroño and rode on to Pamplona at the head of a small column. He was defeated and captured in a battle around Pamplona and executed four days later.

After the execution of Santos Colonel Tomás Zumalacárregui, who was stationed in Pamplona and was suspected of Carlist sympathies, deserted from the queen's army. In mid-November he took command of the rebel forces in Estella, one of the main Carlist bastions in the Navarre region. The appearance of Zumalacárregui on the scene was providential. In just two months he managed to raise a small but highly disciplined army of 3,000 men, a force that proved itself more than capable of confronting the Cristino troops.

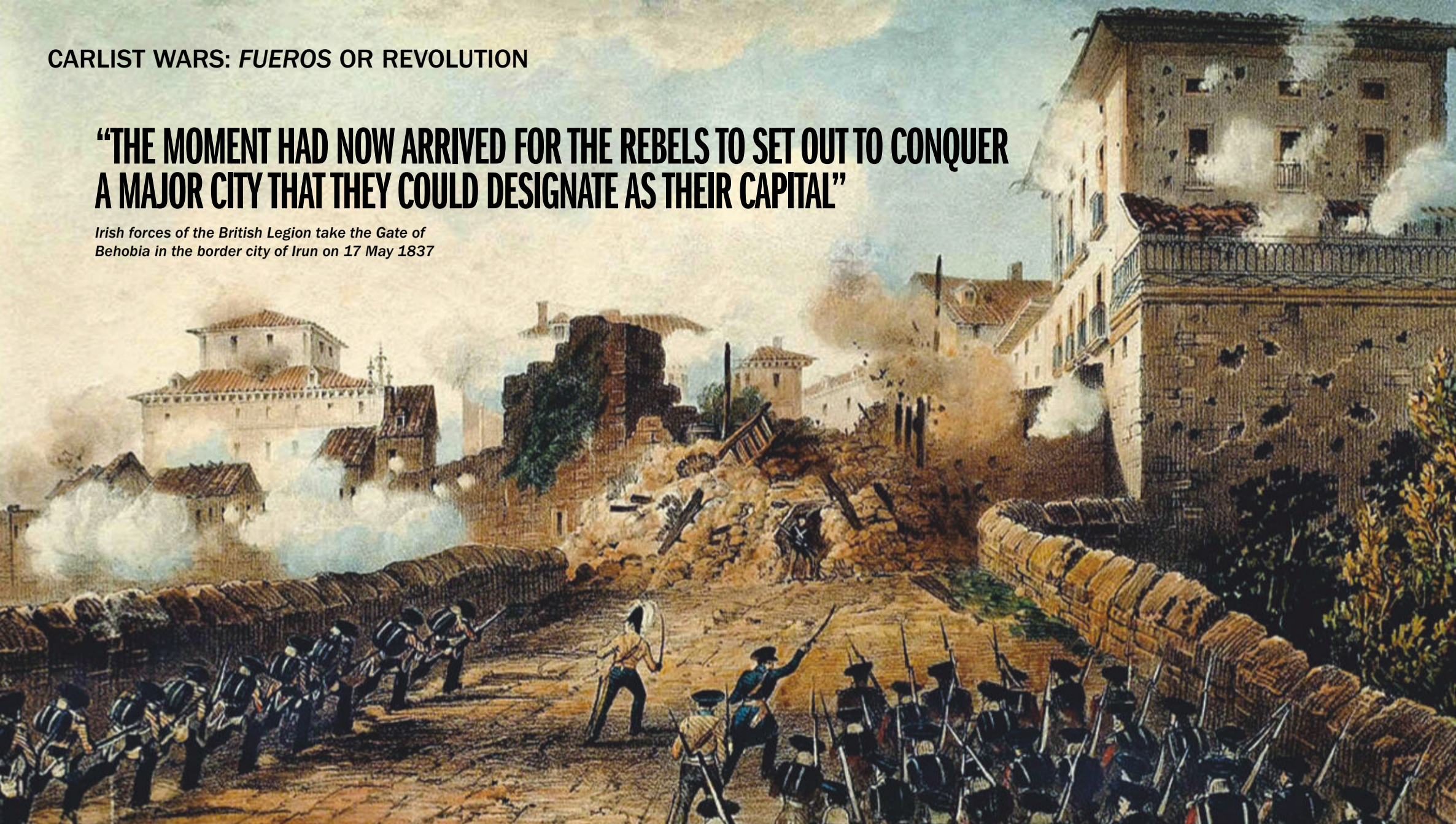
Establishing his base of operations in the Urbasa mountain range he launched successive campaigns moving his battalions swiftly through the Basque-Navarre region. In rapid succession he defeated the troops of ten loyalist generals. By 1834 the conflict had reached an impressive level of cruelty. The Cristinos burnt crops and destroyed flour mills in enemy territory. They also set fire to the village of Lecároz after executing one out of every five male inhabitants.

On both sides prisoners-of-war were routinely executed by firing squad, most outrageously in the village of Heredia, where 118 liberal prisoners were shot on the orders of Zumalacárregui. The atrocities continued until April 1835 when the British government envoy Lord Eliot drew up a treaty under which both sides agreed to abide by the rules of warfare.

By June of that year, Queen Isabel's 200,000-strong army had to acknowledge it had failed to put down the Carlist forces of almost the same size, many of whom were operating as guerrilla bands in parts

“THE MOMENT HAD NOW ARRIVED FOR THE REBELS TO SET OUT TO CONQUER A MAJOR CITY THAT THEY COULD DESIGNATE AS THEIR CAPITAL”

Irish forces of the British Legion take the Gate of Behobia in the border city of Irun on 17 May 1837



of the country. Both sides used mainly the same weapons. The infantry had rifles with bayonets of three edges and the cavalry used swords, spears and short-barrelled shotguns called tercerolas. The Carlist troops were distinguished by their berets, most of which were red, adorned with a yellow tassel. This became the symbol of Carlism, along with the white flag and red Cross of Burgundy.

The Carlists held a firm grip on the Basque-Navarre region, with the exception of the provincial capitals. The moment had now arrived for the rebels to set out to conquer a major city that they could designate as their capital. Zumalacárregui set off to lay siege to Bilbao, but in mid-June, while surveying the enemy lines, he was wounded by a stray bullet and died nine days later. This came as a heavy blow to the Carlists who nevertheless kept up the fight and forced the liberal government to seek aid from abroad. However, the arrival of British, French and Portuguese troops had little

impact on the situation. On the contrary the slaughter of monks in Madrid, the division of Spain from its historic kingdoms into a network of provinces, the restoration of the Constitution of 1812 and the confiscation of communal property of church and city councils, further inflamed the Carlists.

In 1837 General Miguel Gómez attempted to spread the Carlist insurgency across Spain, while in May of that year the Carlist pretender himself took charge of a royal expedition. In September Carlos's forces reached the gates of Madrid and attempted to negotiate an agreement with the regent María Cristina, whose position was threatened by radical sectors of the liberal party. The initiative failed and after returning to the

Right: Tomás Zumalacárregui, strategist and organiser of the Carlist Army. A stray bullet killed him when he was besieging Bilbao

Basque Country in 1838 Carlos placed General Rafael Maroto in charge of the army. Maroto was also in favour of a negotiated peace and opened talks with the liberal commander-in-chief Baldomero Espartero. The plan was for both Don Carlos and María Cristina to leave the country, arrange for Isabel to marry a son of the pretender Carlos, declare a general amnesty, uphold the fueros and proclaim a constitution offering territorial decentralisation.

Maroto's plan caused deep divisions in the Carlist ranks and the general, fearing a rebellion, ordered the execution of three hostile generals, which only served to further alienate his opponents. Espartero took advantage of this weakness to penetrate Carlist territory from Santander in the north. In the summer of 1839 Maroto was in greater fear of dissent in his own ranks than attacks from the liberals and on 31 August he and Espartero negotiated the Abrazo de Vergara, an accord that offered a vague promise to respect the fueros. For many Carlists this represented a betrayal, and although fighting continued in Catalonia the war ended when Don Carlos crossed the French border into voluntary exile. However the underlying problem remained unresolved and the Carlists would rise again in 1846 and, above all in 1872, when they were to set up a Carlist state in the north of Spain.

The generals Maroto (left) and Espartero embrace in Vergara (Gipuzkoa) on 31 August 1839 ending the First Carlist War



IN PART II

The struggle for dominance over Spain's future continue to rage, as Carlist forces once again mount rebellions against the Liberal government, forming their own breakaway state and threatening to permanently divide the country. History of War issue 66 is on sale 21 March

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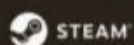
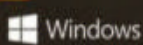


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An aerial view of the Pentagon, 11 January 1945. Spread out over 600,000 square metres (6,500,000 square feet). The US Department of Defense's headquarters was, and remains, the world's largest office building



WOMEN OF BLETCHLEY PART II: INTO THE PENTAGON

WORDS TOM GARNER

Charlotte “Betty” Webb MBE describes her experiences working inside the famous codebreaking mansion as well as the headquarters of the US Armed Forces

Bletchley Park was the headquarters of the British Government Code and Cypher School (GC&CS), which successfully penetrated the secret communications of the Axis powers. Its teams of prodigious codebreakers worked in secret to devise methods that provided vital intelligence for the Allies.

Almost 10,000 people worked for the organisation and of those 75 per cent were women. Sixty per cent of these female employees were uniformed personnel with the majority being from the Women’s Royal Naval Service (WRNS or “Wrens”). Others were recruited from the Women’s Auxiliary Air Force and an even smaller number from the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS). Approximately 414 members of the ATS worked at Bletchley Park including Charlotte “Betty” Webb.

Then known as Charlotte Vine-Stevens, Webb was stationed at Bletchley Park between 1941-45 in the estate’s famous 19th century mansion as well as Block F.

She worked as a registrar and paraphraser before being deployed to the Pentagon at Washington DC during the closing days of the war. Webb remains an active veteran and reveals a fascinating insight into the secret heart of Allied victory.

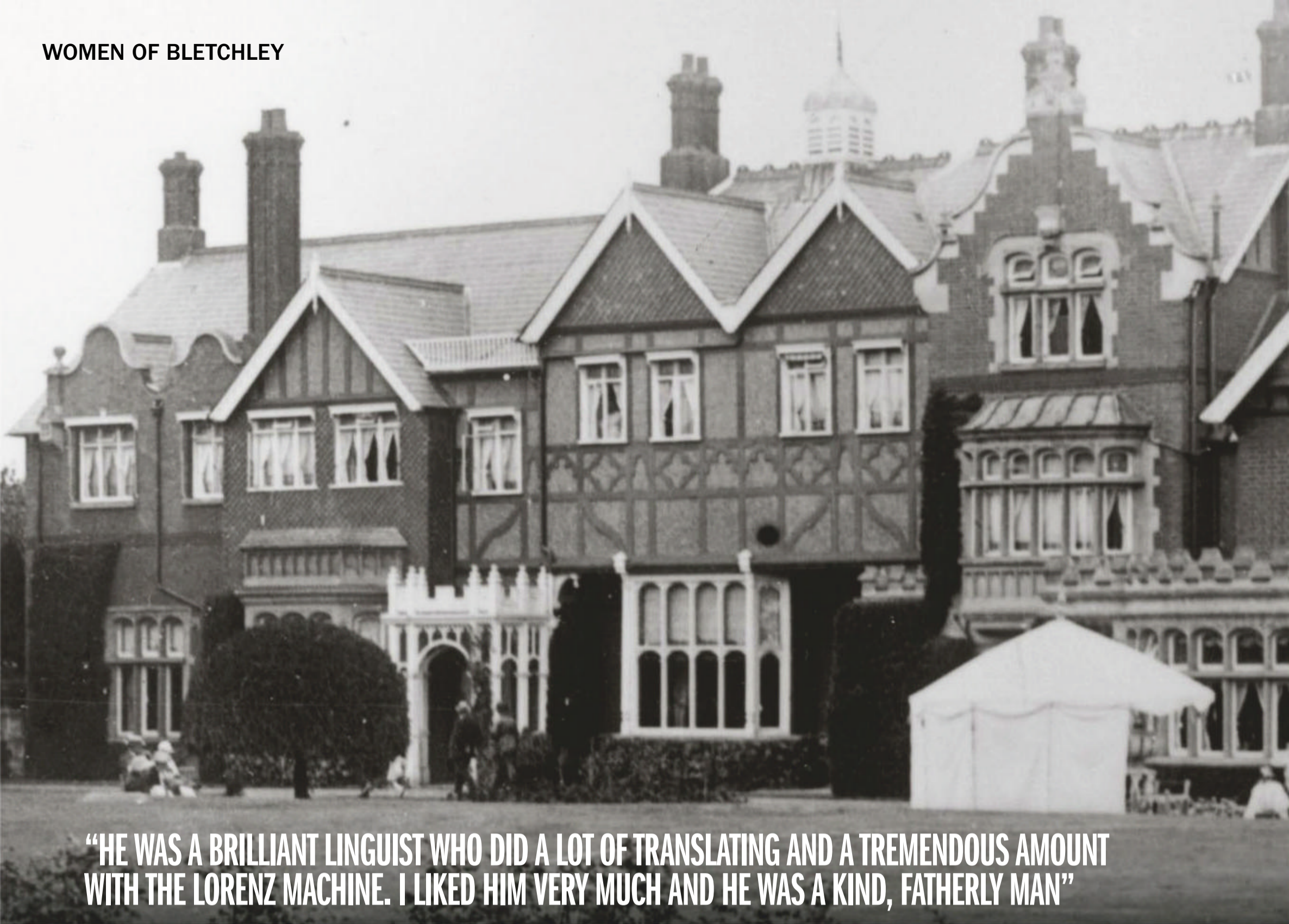
Visiting pre-war Germany

Born in 1923 Webb had a rural upbringing in the village of Richard’s Castle on the Shropshire-Herefordshire border. Her education included learning German and Webb visited

Nazi Germany in 1937 as part of an exchange visit, “I was there when things were beginning to get nasty. I was living with a religious family in Herrnhut near Dresden and they were very anxious about the political situation. Although I was 14 I didn’t really understand it but I do remember an atmosphere.” While being taught at a German school, Webb had to



Left: Staff Sergeant Charlotte Vine-Stevens pictured on duty in the Pentagon, May 1945. She is wearing a Canadian summer uniform to cope with the American weather



“HE WAS A BRILLIANT LINGUIST WHO DID A LOT OF TRANSLATING AND A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT WITH THE LORENZ MACHINE. I LIKED HIM VERY MUCH AND HE WAS A KIND, FATHERLY MAN”

give a Hitler salute along with her classmates, “It was very strange because things were just starting to evolve with the Nazi regime. Coupled with my youth and ignorance I didn’t know what I was doing. I sort of did the salute but tried not to make too much of a show of it.”

Once she returned to England Webb subsequently enrolled on a domestic science course in Shrewsbury. Britain was at war by this time and in 1941 Webb volunteered to join the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), “There was a feeling at the time that we wanted to be doing more for the war effort. I wanted to go in the Wrens but there weren’t any vacancies at the time. I still went ahead and joined the ATS.”

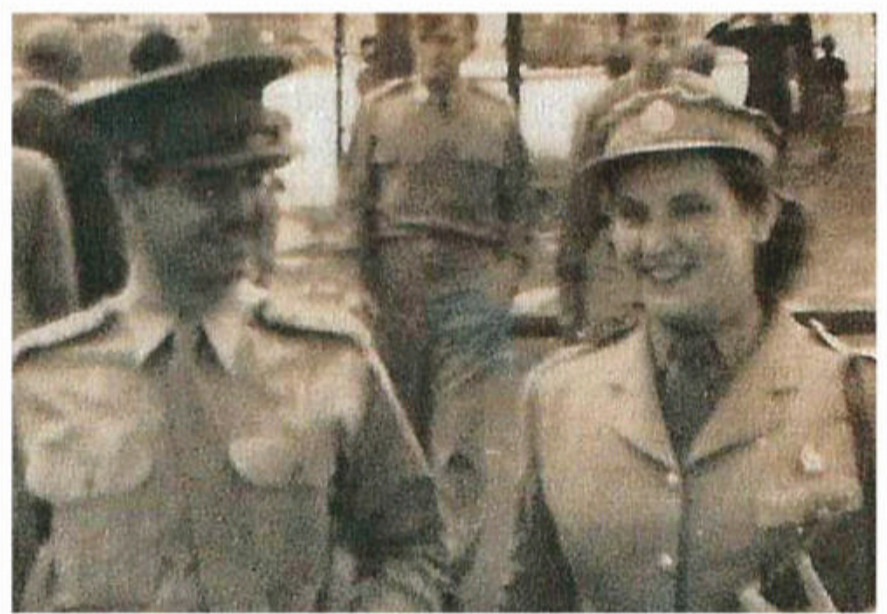
“A gun on the table”

Webb quickly found herself being recruited for Bletchley Park, “The basic training was about six weeks and after that you were asked what you wanted to do in terms of a trade. Being me, I said that I hadn’t the foggiest idea! However, I’d put on my CV that I was bilingual and that took me to an interview in London with an Intelligence Corps officer. He interviewed me for quite a long time in German. When he said, ‘Get yourself to Bletchley’, I thought, ‘Where on earth is that?’”

Upon arrival at Bletchley, Webb was swiftly taken inside the mansion and dramatically sworn to secrecy, “It was in a little room on the left as you go in and there was a colonel from



Vine-Stevens pictured in Washington DC aged 22 in June 1945



Vine-Stevens pictured with Captain John Burrows in Washington DC, 1945. Burrows was the officer who selected her to work in Block F and America

the Intelligence Corps with a gun placed on the table. I think it was quite normal but at the time it was quite frightening to see. It certainly had an influence on my interpretation of signing the Official Secrets Act. You hadn’t any option, you were not to say anything for 30 years so we just got on with it because you couldn’t argue about it.”

Webb had been thrown into the most closely guarded secret of Britain’s war effort, a situation that she initially found daunting, “It

was totally bewildering because I’d come from the country and led a sheltered life. Suddenly I was with lots and lots of people from different walks of life who I otherwise wouldn’t have met. It was an education.”

Registering the Holocaust

Initially assigned to work inside the mansion for Major Ralph Tester, Webb registered intercepted German messages as they came in from Bletchley’s outstations, “I worked upstairs



Bletchley Park mansion pictured in 1926. The building was constructed in the late 19th century by Sir Herbert Leon and was described by an architect as a "maudlin and monstrous pile"

and these messages were taken down by our signalmen and women throughout the country. There were 17 stations in Britain and many overseas. These messages were taken down in Morse code and there was absolutely no clear wording at all. They didn't mean anything at that stage but what I had to do was register each one with the date and a call sign number. This had to be done in such a way that Major Tester could call on any date at any particular time."

Tester was fluent in German and "very prominent" within Bletchley Park. From July 1942 he founded and supervised the "Testery" section, which used handwritten methods to break the German high-command "Tunny" cipher system on the Lorenz machine. Webb worked with Tester before his department was established and remembers him fondly, "He was a brilliant linguist who did a lot of translating and a tremendous amount with the Lorenz machine. I liked him very much and he was a kind, fatherly man."

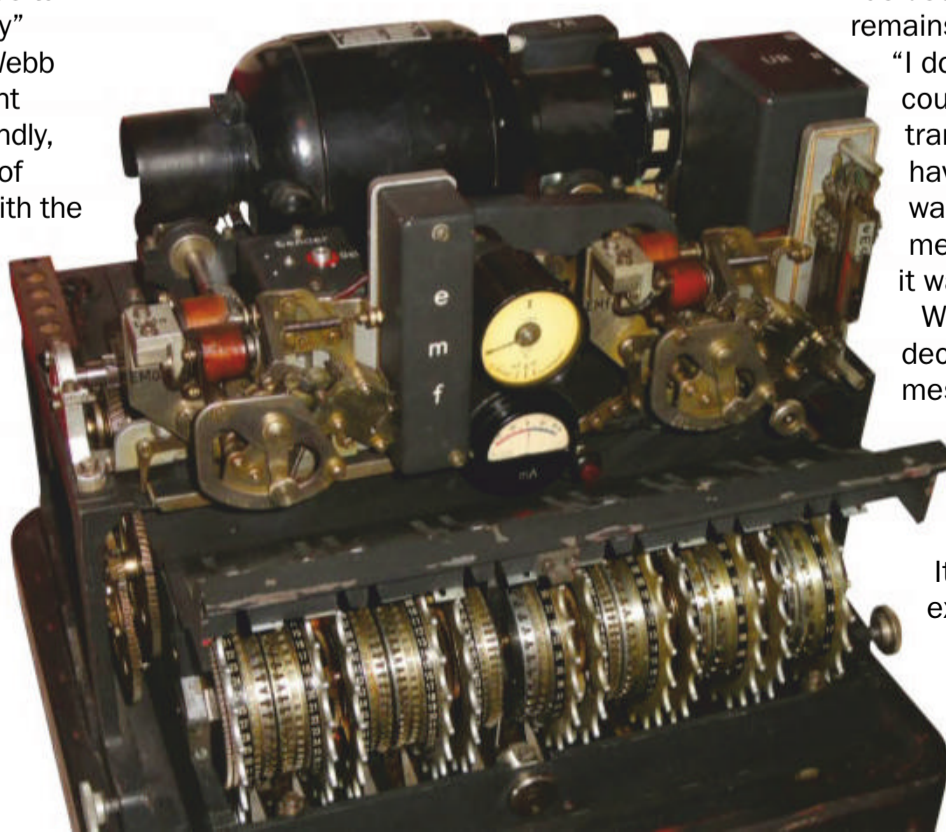
While she was on Tester's staff Webb recalls that working conditions inside the mansion were not ideal, "He had a separate office and I was in a little room way back over the ballroom that had probably been a

Webb first worked for Major Ralph Tester who later established the "Testery" section to break the German "Tunny" Lorenz machine

servant's bedroom. In my office there was a sergeant called Le Mesurier and another chap called Tubby Roots.

"It was cramped and very cold in the winter because there was no central heating."

Despite the discomfort Webb found out the valuable content of her registered messages decades later, "It was all very primitive, we didn't have anything except shoeboxes and little cards to write things on. It was terribly improvised but it worked. I was told fairly recently that a lot of it was to do with the Holocaust but I didn't know that at the time.



The messages contained information about the Nazis putting Jews into camps during the initial stages. I imagine I would have been registering SS and Gestapo messages but nothing was 'in the clear' and we didn't know where it had come from. You would just see a group of five random letters or figures."

Confusing the Japanese

After registering messages Webb was transferred to the newly established Block F. Constructed in 1943, this concrete building was known as the "Burma Road" because it was used to break Japanese codes. Webb remains unsure as to why she was reassigned, "I don't know how anybody found out that I could transcribe the already decoded and translated Japanese messages. It might have been Captain John Burrows but he was very non-committal about why he gave me the job and simply said that he thought it was a good idea."

Webb's specific task was to paraphrase decoded and translated Japanese messages, "You used other words to turn a message into something that meant exactly the same thing so that it would hopefully not be recognised by the Japanese as having been decoded. It was helping to cover up the very existence of Bletchley Park."

WOMEN OF BLETCHLEY



Priority teams work in Hut 3 at Bletchley Park, 1943



Webb was awarded the MBE in 2015 although she is most proud of her Bletchley Park Commemorative Badge, which is worn next to her medals

Paraphrasing meant that Webb was effectively confusing the Japanese and recalls working on a message that related to the Battle of Kohima in 1944, “I remember that quite clearly. For example, one decoded message said ‘Border areas near Kohima and Imphal expected to be attacked Monday’. I would paraphrase that to become ‘Early next week, attacks could be further west, maybe Kohima area’. It was terribly simple but if the Japanese picked it up it would hopefully say to them that we had, or hadn’t, got their codes. We’ll never know unfortunately and that was a very short message but some of the ones I handled were much longer than that.”

Often referred to as the “Stalingrad of the East”, Kohima was a turning point of the Japanese offensive into India. Between April and June 1944 British and Indian forces decisively defeated the Japanese and their victory enabled the Fourteenth Army to launch their successful re-conquest of Burma. Despite the vital role that intelligence played in the victory, Webb remains modest about her role, “I’ll never know if I was a contributing factor but I hope it helped.”

“The next best thing to a university”

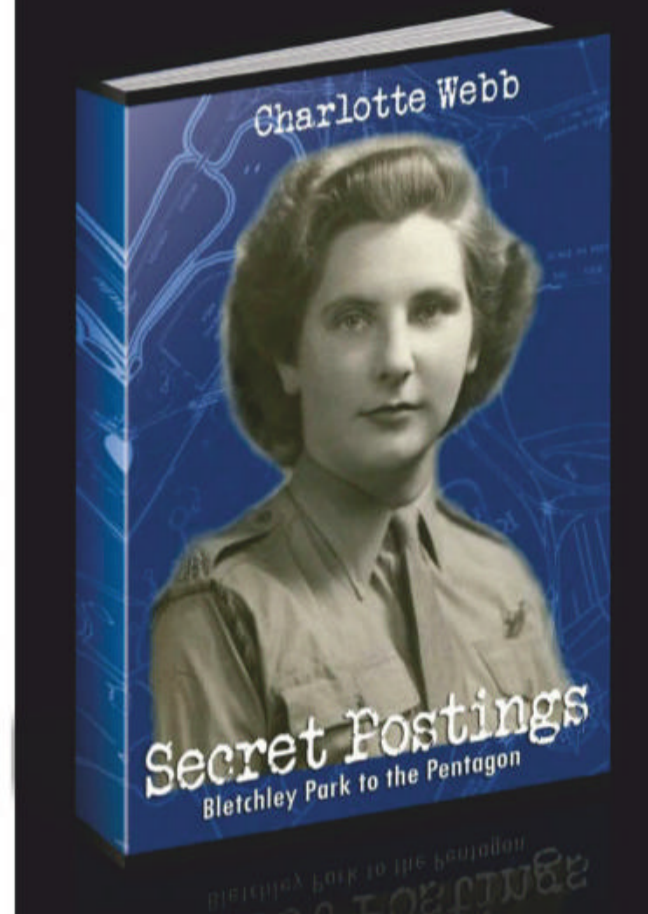
Because of the famously covert nature of Bletchley Park’s operations Webb remained ignorant of the groundbreaking work of the

cryptanalysts. The high level of secrecy was even kept on a room-by-room basis, “There would have been a handful of men who knew the whole story at the time but you certainly didn’t at my level. I had no idea about the complexity or the detail. We were just in these little rooms and didn’t communicate with anybody outside. Can you imagine it? I said to myself ‘You know the rules, you don’t talk about it beyond your own office’. Of course, I couldn’t tell my parents where I was or anything like that but it was a discipline that had to be observed.”

Despite being confined to her office Webb recalls that conditions in Block F were better than the mansion, “They were much more civilised because there was central heating. Compared with the huts, where there was hardly any heating, fresh air and poor lighting, Block F was very comfortable.”

Bletchley was also well supplied with recreation activities, “It was wonderful because there was an orchestra run by Herbert Murrell who was a professional musician. He had a very good Bach choir that I belonged to and a madrigal society. There was also a gramophone group, lectures, sports such as tennis and facilities for table tennis, dances and a library within walking distance of the manor. There was plenty to do and we were allowed to go out and cycle in the countryside because there wasn’t much traffic in those days. In my

Charlotte Webb is the author of *Secret Postings, Bletchley Park To The Pentagon*, which is published by BookTower Publishing and available to buy on Amazon. For more information visit: amazon.co.uk





Webb paraphrased intercepted Japanese messages including for the hard-fought Battle of Kohima



Pentagon workers take a break, June 1945

Bletchley staff pictured at the registration room of Hut 6 in 1943. Webb registered messages inside the mansion



view, we had a very balanced life." Webb has previously described her time at Bletchley as "the next best thing to a university", which she puts down to the variety of staff she worked with. "A number of us have said this but it was because one met such a large cross-section of people. There were aristocrats down to ordinary people like me. We were all working at different levels but it was nevertheless a good mix."

Assigned to Washington

Although the war in Europe ended in May 1945, Webb was despatched to the United States by Captain John Burrows to work at the newly opened Pentagon. After an arduous 22-hour flight and train journey, Washington DC was a "totally new experience. The main excitement was that there was very little food rationing. Compared to what we were going through in England it was absolutely magic".

Nevertheless Webb also discovered a shameful side to American life, "Black people were segregated and that hit me when I was there. For example, they had to sit at the back of a bus and it was quite a shock. That didn't happen in England and in fact a lot of the women in the London ATS were Jamaican so we were quite used to this situation."

The Pentagon itself had only been opened in 1943 and it employed huge numbers of people including Webb who continued her paraphrasing work, "It was very impressive and utterly

enormous. There were 32,000 people working there and unless you're there you can't describe the sheer size of it.

"However, the only time that it ever felt crowded was the queue for lunch!"

Webb was also present when Dwight D. Eisenhower visited, "He was the hero of the day and when he finished in Europe he came over to the Pentagon to see us. He had an entourage of troops and was standing up in a tank that was taking him around."

Although Webb remembers that the British Pentagon staff was treated well by the Americans, the situation was slightly different among the civilians, "There was a feeling that we, the British, had dragged the Americans into the war. It wasn't exactly spelt out but sometimes there was that kind of atmosphere. They also didn't seem to have very good communications about events in Europe and I think they had a rather biased view of what was going on. It wasn't an unpleasant experience but it was something that I noticed."

Speaking out

Webb left America in October 1945 and briefly returned to Bletchley before she was demobbed in February 1946. She later rejoined the armed forces in the 1950s to become a permanent staff officer in the Territorial Army and ended her military career as a staff captain.

For decades after her wartime service Webb was legally forbidden to talk about Bletchley Park and found ways to maintain her silence, "I just put it out of my mind completely. If people asked what I did I brushed it off by saying that it was just a boring secretarial job. That was the easiest way to approach it and people largely accepted it."

However, Bletchley veterans began to hold reunions in the 1990s when they were finally free to talk. Webb took full advantage of her newfound freedom and began to speak regularly about her experiences, which she still does today, "The public enjoy it and ask questions that you don't really expect. It's fantastic."

Despite the respect Bletchley Park veterans now receive, Webb is concerned about the global rise of far-right movements today, "It's very worrying and hurtful. They haven't learned the lesson [of WWII] and I think it's appalling. Because the war was so long ago the general public can't understand the dangers."

On 9 October 2009 Webb was awarded the Bletchley Park Commemorative Badge in a ceremony with other veterans by the then Foreign Secretary, David Miliband. She was later appointed an MBE in 2015 for promoting the codebreakers' work but she is still most proud of receiving her badge, "It is more important to me in a sense because Bletchley was unique. There are relatively few of us left and there will never be anything like it again."

THE LEGACY OF ALAN TURING

Sir Dermot Turing discusses his uncle's work and new book that uncovers the crucial work of Polish codebreakers during the 1930s

Alan Turing was a mathematical genius and is acknowledged as the "Father of Computer Science". Nevertheless he is best known for his pivotal role at Bletchley Park where he was the leading member of the team that solved many of the problems presented by the German Enigma machine. This included designing the Bombe machine and these breakthroughs played a crucial role in Allied victory. Despite his monumental successes, Turing was prosecuted for homosexual acts in 1952 and died two years later in what was officially ruled as a suicide.

Sir Dermot Turing, Alan Turing's nephew, has written several books about his uncle, Bletchley Park and computing. As well discussing his relative's achievements, Sir Dermot talks about his new book *X, Y & Z*, which reveals the previously unknown story of the Polish, French and British secret services who worked together to unravel the Enigma machine

What did Turing achieve during WWII?

Everyone associates Alan Turing with Bletchley Park and the breaking of Enigma. That's the perception and while it's not wrong it does conceal other interesting things.

It's absolutely right that Turing was working on the Enigma problem from the very early days of the war and even before it. What people perhaps don't appreciate is that the basic answer to Enigma was found before Christmas 1939. Polish codebreakers shared their knowledge a few weeks before war broke out and this gave Turing and his fellow codebreakers the leg up to crack the problem. That means that if they were on top of Enigma and found their methodology before 1939, what did they spend the rest of the war doing?

What you discover is that Turing was then deployed onto the naval Enigma, which was much harder and central to the Battle of the Atlantic. Along with other intellectual challenges it occupied him up until 1942. At that point he switched roles and was in charge of some aspects of cipher security and enciphered telephone calls. The Germans had eavesdropped on Churchill and Roosevelt during their transatlantic phone calls so that was a big security concern. Turing spent 1943 until the end of the war working on that and various other machine problems. All this tells you is that there was more to his wartime career than people are perhaps aware of and that there was more to Bletchley Park than Enigma.

You've previously called Turing's life a "Shakespearean tragedy", what did you mean by that?

His life does have a Shakespearean structure to it. The degree to which he was a solitary genius is perhaps overplayed but you've certainly got a person who achieved great things only for it to collapse because of what was going on in his private life. He suffered prosecution and had to have hormone implants for a year. Then his life ended tragically with him dying by suicide. The pathos is what makes people very interested in him as a character so he does seem to have the same kind of plot line as a Shakespeare play.

How was Turing remembered in the family?

Frankly, when I was growing up he was just somebody clever who had been in the family. People find that remarkable but when you put it in the context that nobody had really heard of him until the 1980s then that kind of explains it.

There were guesses in the family as to what he might have done. He was apparently working for the Foreign Office, which seemed somewhat difficult to swallow. He was also doing work that meant he was exempt from military service, which implied the government was using his talents for what he was actually good at.

I am fairly confident that my grandparents had twigged that he must be doing codebreaking because that would have been the most obvious way to put two and two together.

Obviously they didn't know for a fact and they certainly didn't have any idea of how successful the operation had been. When the Bletchley Park revelations eventually came out I don't think it came as a great surprise to my father.

"THERE WAS MORE TO HIS WARTIME CAREER THAN PEOPLE ARE PERHAPS AWARE OF AND THERE WAS MORE TO BLETCHLEY PARK THAN ENIGMA"

What is *X, Y & Z* about?

Unlike the Alan Turing story this is one that is poorly understood and unknown in the UK. I personally knew very little that there were indications that the Poles had done something on Enigma before Bletchley Park. I discovered that there weren't many books about it in English, which was curious. When I got into the story I found it was very interesting.

The British codebreakers who ended up at Bletchley Park did not know anything about the German Enigma machine as late as July 1939. They had zero knowledge. How they went from total ignorance in July 1939 to being able to build a machine that could solve the Enigma settings

for them within three months was because the Poles told them the answers to all the questions. Amazingly they had been working on the problem since 1932 and had solved it.

By pure mathematical analysis they had worked out the wirings and the function of the plug board that were puzzling the British. That's why Bletchley Park was able to become a success but how that has not been an integral part of the story is quite remarkable.

To what extent has Turing's work overshadowed the achievements of other cryptologists during WWII?

His work definitely has overshadowed the achievements of the other codebreakers. For instance Gordon Welchman was the co-architect of the Bombe machine and he's not a household name. His achievement was a very clever modification that made Alan Turing's design workable. It turned a not very good machine into one that was super efficient and usable.

Welchman deserves lots of credit and it certainly wasn't just Turing who was the only clever guy at the park. There were dozens of them working on all sorts of codebreaking problems, many of which were very difficult. Then there were all the hand ciphers and people don't realise that was of great importance too. The machines capture the imagination but the old-fashioned manual methods for enciphering were very much in use. All this contributes to the intelligence picture and there were many other people who deserved to be just as famous as Alan Turing.

What do you think of the belated recognition he has received in recent years?

He'd probably feel quite negative about it to be honest. He was not a seeker of the limelight and would have abhorred the attention. I certainly think he would have been happier to be remembered for his intellectual achievements than standing as a proxy for gay rights etc. That probably would have made him feel very uncomfortable.

To some extent I find myself trying to correct what I believe to be misconceptions that have arisen from *The Imitation Game* in particular.

That presents a picture of Alan Turing that is perhaps slightly unfair as someone who was socially inept and a difficult work colleague. This was not what people who worked with, and talked to me about him, said.

How would you define Alan Turing's impact on the modern world?

We need to remind ourselves that he did more than work on Enigma at Bletchley Park. His contribution that undoubtedly affects everyone's lives everyday was writing the theoretical basis on which all computing is done. The idea that a machine could be programmed to do more than one task was unimaginable back in the 1930s. To have that vision to say 'This is possible' and then to say 'This is how we do it' is the thing that has had the biggest lasting impact.

Dermot Turing will be speaking at the Oxford Literary Festival on 1 April 2019. For tickets and more information please visit oxfordliteraryfestival.org



Dermot Turing with a statue of his uncle in Manchester

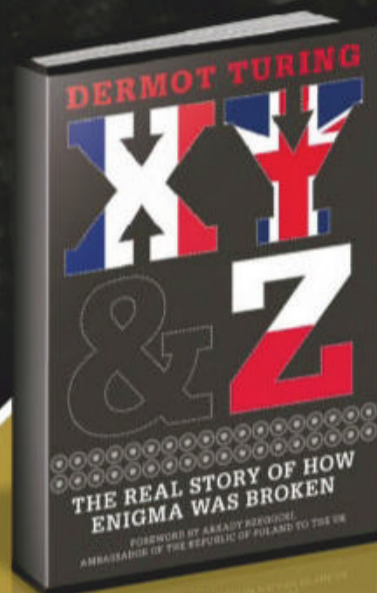
BLETCHLEY PARK

Sir Dermot Turing is a trustee of Bletchley Park, which is now a vibrant heritage attraction. For more information visit: bletchleypark.org.uk

Images: Alamy, Getty, Charlotte Webb and Dermot Turing

Alan Turing was awarded an OBE for his wartime work in 1946 and later received an official apology in 2009 from the British government as well as a posthumous pardon from Queen Elizabeth II in 2013

X, Y & Z: The Real Story Of How Enigma Was Broken is published by The History Press. For more information visit thehistorypress.co.uk



ALBRECHT WALLENSTEIN

The Duke of Friedland, Zagan, and Mecklenburg is shown in middle age at the height of his power. His finely embroidered lace shirt reflects his wealth, and his red sash represents the Hapsburg Dynasty. The baton that he holds in his right hand symbolises his rank as generalissimo of the Imperial army of the Holy Roman Empire. Around his neck he wears the gold chain of the Roman Catholic chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece. His demeanour expresses strength and confidence. The dark sky behind him signifies conflict.

“WALLENSTEIN WAS ENRAGED AT THE MAJOR’S IMPUDENCE UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. HE DREW HIS SWORD AND THRUST IT DEEP INTO THE MAJOR’S CHEST. KHUEN TOPPLED FROM HIS SADDLE WITH A FATAL WOUND”



THE IMPERIAL GAUNTLET

Generalissimo Albrecht von Wallenstein raised, equipped, and led mighty armies for the Holy Roman Empire in its struggle against the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War

WORDS WILLIAM E. WELSH

On 30 April 1619, in Olmutz, Moravia, a regiment of militia hastily prepared for a forced march on short notice. Their commander, 35-year-old Colonel Albrecht von Wallenstein, had no intention of supporting the Protestants who had seized power in Prague during the recent Bohemian Uprising. Instead he would march his troops to Vienna where they could join the Catholic war effort led by Archduke Ferdinand of Styria.

Wallenstein ordered a major called Khuen to start out with 900 foot soldiers on the 125-mile trek to the Austrian frontier. He advised Khuen that he would catch up to him later with the regiment's company of cuirassiers. Time was of the essence as a large Protestant army was bearing down on Olmutz. It was therefore imperative that Wallenstein's regiment cross the Austrian frontier before it was overtaken.

Yet by nightfall Khuen had not departed. After squandering most of the day, the befuddled major rode in search of Wallenstein. The two men conferred while on their horses. Khuen said that the expedition seemed odd to him, partly because he had not received the customary billet order for his troops.

Wallenstein was enraged at the major's impudence under such circumstances. He drew

“WALLENSTEIN HAD DREAMED OF ASCENDING THROUGH THE RANKS, BUT HE FOUND THAT HIS MODEST ORIGINS PREVENTED HIM FROM RISING TO SENIOR COMMAND”

his sword and thrust it deep into the major's chest. Khuen toppled from his saddle with a fatal wound.

Wallenstein selected a more obedient commander and sent him on his way with the foot soldiers. After the colonel and his cavalymen had loaded chests containing 96,000 thalers into the wagons of their baggage train, they set off to overtake the infantry. Wallenstein's regiment arrived safely five days later.

Shifting allegiance and faith

Although employed by the Protestant Moravian Diet, Wallenstein was politically aligned with Archduke Ferdinand's party in its struggle for

the kingship of Bohemia. Ferdinand was only four months away from the beginning of his reign as Holy Roman Emperor.

Ferdinand was already well-acquainted with the skills and devotion of the Czech colonel. In 1615 Ferdinand had gone to war against Venice to protect the Uskoks, a displaced people who had fled Turkish rule and settled on his lands. When the Venetians and their allies besieged the fortress of Gradisca on the Adriatic Sea, Wallenstein raised 280 men who joined the garrison at Gradisca in 1617. When the fortress was nearly encircled by the enemy, Wallenstein conducted a successful sortie to keep open the narrow corridor through which the fortress received supplies. As a reward for ensuring the fortress continued to receive supplies, Ferdinand made Wallenstein a count.

Wallenstein, who came from a Protestant Czech family of modest means, had joined the Imperial army as an ensign in 1604 and marched off to Hungary to fight the Turks. Afterwards, he converted to Catholicism.

During his formative years, the young soldier had dreamed of ascending through the ranks, but he found that his modest origins prevented him from rising to senior command. When a close confidante suggested that he might marry into the aristocracy, he followed his advice.



Albrecht von Wallenstein

“ALTHOUGH HE SHOULD HAVE BEEN ON TOP OF THE WORLD BECAUSE OF HIS FAME AND FORTUNE, HE WAS STRICKEN WITH GOUT IN HIS 30s AND PLAGUED WITH IT FOR THE REST OF HIS LIFE”

Wallenstein married the wealthy widow Lucretia von Landeck in 1609. When she died young, just five years later, he became extremely wealthy.

Commandant of Prague

Ferdinand was thrilled that Wallenstein had marched to his assistance during the uprising. But the emperor returned the Moravian thalers because, after all, these were his subjects and he did not want to rob them of their money.

Wallenstein's first command in the Imperial army was a so-called double regiment consisting of 1,500 cuirassiers and 500 arquebusiers with which he helped protect Vienna. Because he was engaged suppressing Protestants on the Bohemian-Saxon frontier, Wallenstein did not participate in the Catholic victory at White Mountain in November 1620, which secured the Kingdom of Bohemia for Ferdinand.

Ferdinand appointed Wallenstein to serve as commandant of Prague in 1622, a move that made him the de facto governor of Bohemia. Wallenstein made the most of the opportunity to purchase appropriated estates of treasonous Protestant Bohemians in Northeastern Bohemia. In doing so he amassed a large private domain in Friedland that was actually composed of numerous towns and villages.

His second marriage in 1623 to Isabelle-Catherine Harrach, whose father was one of Ferdinand's principal ministers, catapulted Wallenstein into the upper echelon of Austrian society. The wealth that came from his two strategic marriages, as well as his acquisition

of the confiscated estates in Bohemia made him one of the wealthiest men in Europe.

To assist the hard-pressed Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire, Danish King Christian IV entered the war in 1625. Since Ferdinand lacked the funds to recruit and equip large Imperial armies, he entrusted those tasks to Wallenstein. At that time, Ferdinand promoted Wallenstein to generalissimo, a rank higher than field marshal. The previous year Ferdinand assented to the creation of the Principality of Friedland, which would be Wallenstein's sovereign domain.

Wallenstein excelled at all of the various tasks of fielding an army, including recruiting, planning, and logistics. Most of the Catholic troops in the war, whether part of the Bavarian-led Catholic League or the Imperial army, were mercenaries. With his wealth and organisational skills, Wallenstein recruited an entire Imperial army.

Although he should have been on top of the world because of his fame and fortune, he was stricken with gout in his 30s and plagued with it for the rest of his life.

Master of defence

The newly minted generalissimo transformed his domain in Friedland into a military depot that churned out uniforms and weapons. Wallenstein initially raised 50,000 troops for Ferdinand. He would raise many thousands more in the years that followed. Leaving a detachment under Colonel Johann Aldringen



Wallenstein parleys with the Protestant defenders of the Baltic fortress of Stralsund during the Imperial siege

at Dessau Bridge on the Elbe River to protect his supply line to Bohemia in early 1626, Wallenstein pushed west into Lower Saxony to reinforce the Catholic League commander Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly, in his offensive against the Danish king.

Hoping to cut off Wallenstein from Bohemia, Protestant mercenary general Count Ernst Mansfeld led his 20,000 troops in a sweep across northern Germany that brought him into eastern Saxony. He then besieged the 2,000 Imperial soldiers guarding Dessau Bridge in mid-April. After a series of probing attacks, Mansfeld launched an all-out assault on 25 April.

Unbeknownst to Mansfeld, Wallenstein had countermarched with 12,000 troops to reinforce Aldringen. Concealing his fresh troops in the woods, Wallenstein held them in check until Mansfeld's troops had exhausted themselves. On Wallenstein's orders, the Imperial troops emerged from their protected positions to overwhelm the Protestants. Three-quarters of Mansfeld's army was destroyed in a stunning Imperial victory.

Wallenstein conquered Jutland in 1627, thereby forcing Christian to withdraw to the Danish islands to escape the pursuing Catholic armies. In appreciation for defeating the Danes, Ferdinand bestowed upon Wallenstein the Silesian Duchy of Zagan. The following year Ferdinand gave Wallenstein the Duchy of Mecklenburg as a way to offset his enormous debt to Wallenstein for raising the main Imperial army.

“ON WALLENSTEIN’S ORDERS, THE IMPERIAL TROOPS EMERGED FROM THEIR PROTECTED POSITIONS TO OVERWHELM THE PROTESTANTS. THREE-QUARTERS OF MANSFELD’S ARMY WAS DESTROYED IN A STUNNING IMPERIAL VICTORY”

The continued elevation of Wallenstein rankled high-born German princes who resented the generalissimo and considered him beneath them owing to his low birth. It gave them ample cause to plot against him.

Offensive blunder

Wallenstein faced a dilemma in early 1628 when one of his subordinates, Colonel Hans Georg von Arnim, failed to capture the Protestant-held fortress of Stralsund on the Baltic Sea. Wallenstein marched to his aid with 14,000 troops, but Protestant troops from Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden came to the aid of the beleaguered militia defending

the Pomeranian town. After several assaults, Wallenstein decided his best option was to quit the siege. Ferdinand blamed Wallenstein for the debacle, and it became a black mark on his military record.

The spitefulness of Wallenstein's enemies in the Imperial army and at the Imperial court continued unabated. “I wage more war with a few ministers than the enemy,” Wallenstein lamented.

Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus's army landed in Pomerania in July 1630. His reason for direct intervention in the Thirty Years' War was to liberate the oppressed German Protestants and, in the process, roll back the Catholic gains.

At the very time he was needed the most, the prince-electors of the Holy Roman Empire meeting at Regensburg moved to have Wallenstein dismissed from Imperial service. They asserted that Wallenstein only obeyed orders from the emperor when it suited him and that he had plundered great swaths of Germany. Ferdinand sacked Wallenstein in September to appease the powerful electors. Command of the Catholic forces devolved to Tilly.

After securing his bridgehead in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, Gustavus marched into Saxony and defeated Tilly at the Breitenfeld on 17 September 1631. Without Wallenstein's help recruiting Imperial troops, the Swedish juggernaut was unstoppable. In spring 1632 Gustavus invaded Bavaria where he won a decisive battle against Tilly at Rain on 15 April in which the old campaigner was mortally wounded.



Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus is slain during a powerful counterattack by Imperial cuirassiers at Lutzen

*Wallenstein rallies the
Imperial Catholic troops
at the Battle of Lutzen*





English Captain Walter Devereux assassinates Wallenstein with a halberd in his quarters at Eger

Outwitting the Swedes

In desperation Ferdinand reinstated Wallenstein. On 13 April Wallenstein met secretly at Gollersdorf with Austrian Minister Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg to negotiate the terms of his reinstatement as generalissimo. The Gollersdorf Agreement gave Wallenstein the power to raise an army of 70,000 men and negotiate alliances and treaties with the German electors without having to seek Ferdinand's approval beforehand.

When Gustavus occupied Nuremberg in mid-June 1632, Wallenstein established a large fortified camp near an old hilltop castle known as Alte Veste a short distance away. The Swedes assaulted into the teeth of the Imperial defenses at Alte Veste on 3 September but were hurled back with substantial losses.

With his reputation tarnished by the fiasco at Alte Veste, Gustavus withdrew northwest to Franconia to lick his wounds. Wallenstein swept into central Saxony where he captured Leipzig on 1 November. Gustavus desperately wanted a major victory over the Imperialists to restore his reputation, and he attacked Wallenstein in another strong position on high ground adjacent to the town of Lutzen.

Defeat at Lutzen

Gustavus initiated the battle by leading the Swedish cavalry in a grand charge against the Imperial left wing. In the swirling smoke and fog he became separated from his bodyguard

“THE DISGRACED COMMANDER WAS SHOWN NO GREATER MERCY THAN THAT WITH WHICH HE HAD SLAIN THE HAPLESS MAJOR”

and was fatally shot by Imperial cuirassiers. However his second-in-command, Marshal Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, succeeded in smashing the Imperial right wing. Wallenstein lost his nerve and began a withdrawal to Bohemia that night. He left his artillery and baggage behind for the victors.

The following year Wallenstein made diplomatic overtures to the Saxons and Brandenburgers in an attempt to draw them out of their respective agreements with the Swedes. Meanwhile Ferdinand's ministers and rival generals undermined Wallenstein. When he learned of the schemes against him, he became highly paranoid and attempted to contact the Swedes to switch sides.

But Ferdinand had made up his mind. He sent emissaries to Pilsen in Bohemia demanding that Wallenstein relocate his army to Bavaria as a preliminary step to his removal. When Ferdinand learned that Wallenstein was considering switching

sides, the emperor published a treatise on 24 January setting forth charges of treason against Wallenstein whom he regarded by that point as a threat to his rule.

Flight from Prague

Ferdinand officially terminated Wallenstein's command on 18 February. The fugitive generalissimo Wallenstein fled to Eger on the frontier of the Upper Palatinate. Although it is not certain where he was headed, it is thought that he may have been trying to reach the Swedish army.

A group of English and Scottish mercenaries stormed into the Eger barracks intent on killing him. English Captain Walter Devereux ran upstairs to Wallenstein's bedroom and ran him through with a halberd. The disgraced commander was shown no greater mercy than that with which he had slain the hapless major of the Moravian militia whom he summarily executed 15 years earlier.

FURTHER READING

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ENGLISH ELECTRIC LIGHTNING F.6

WORDS STUART HADAWAY

The ultimate version of the RAF's supersonic jet would become its longest-serving fighter aircraft

AIR-TO-AIR RADAR

The Ferranti Airpass AI-23S fire control radar in the nose cone could detect enemy bombers at up to nearly 30 miles away.

ENGLISH ELECTRIC F.6 LIGHTNING

FIRST FLIGHT: 17 APRIL 1964 **ORIGIN:** BRITISH **LENGTH:** 16.85M (55FT 3IN) **RANGE:** 1370KM (850 MILES) **ENGINE:** 2 X ROLLS ROYCE AVON 301 TURBOJETS, EACH WITH 56.4KN (12,690 LBF) THRUST DRY AND 72.8KN (16,360LBF) WITH AFTERBURNER **CREW:** 1 **PRIMARY WEAPON:** 2 X RED TOP AIR-TO-AIR MISSILES **SECONDARY WEAPON:** 2 X 30MM ADEN CANNON OR 48 X 2IN UNGUIDED MISSILES

COCKPIT

Crammed with controls and avionics, the cockpit needed experience to operate well. The Martin Baker B54 C Mk. 2 ejector seat could save the pilot if activated on the ground and at speeds as low as 104mph.

EXTENDED RANGE

The fuel tanks on the over-wing pylons greatly increased transit range but adversely affected performance. If need be, they could be jettisoned.

RED TOP AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE

The Hawker Siddeley Red Top was fast and had a powerful punch, but needed clear skies. Thankfully, Lightnings never needed to fire one in anger.

PACKED WITH POWER

The engine compartment was tightly packed and hard to access. The configuration meant maintenance was hard and problems or faults could quickly cascade in flight.

Based on a late 1940s requirement for an experimental supersonic testbed, the Lightning was first ordered for the RAF in 1956 as a stop-gap measure until a much more advanced aircraft could be developed. However the infamous Sandys Defence White Paper of 1957 stopped almost all new aircraft development, and greater investment was instead focused on the Lightning. In 1960 the F.1 entered service, followed rapidly by the F.2 (1962), F.3 (1964) and finally the ultimate version, the F.6, in 1965. The F.6 fixed many of the problems of the earlier versions, particularly regarding armament and range, turning it from an interceptor into a true fighter. These improvements also turned the stop-gap into the longest serving RAF fighter, only leaving front-line service in 1988. The Lightning F.6 was also the last purely British designed and built fighter, and the only RAF fighter (so far) to have a top speed of over Mach 2.

It was a remarkable piece of engineering. Two massive engines gave a climb rate of 15,000m (50,000ft) per minute. If scrambled against in-coming bombers, a Lightning could go from 'brakes off' at dispersal to 12,000m (40,000ft) in just 2.5 minutes.

"THE LIGHTNING F.6 WAS THE LAST PURELY BRITISH DESIGNED AND BUILT FIGHTER"

One of the preserved F.6s at Bruntingthorpe, which are maintained and sometimes taxied by the Lightning Preservation Group



ARMAMENT

The main armament for the F.6 was the Hawker Siddeley Red Top air-to-air missile, which was a development of the earlier de Havilland Firestreak. It was a leap forward, delivering a 31kg (68lb) warhead at Mach 3.2 at 12km (7.5 mile) range. Unfortunately the infra-red seeker head did not work in cloud – less than ideal for defending British skies. To compensate for this weakness, the F.6 could be fitted with two 30mm ADEN cannon, which had been deleted from earlier models. Clusters of unguided air-to-air rockets could also be carried.

The business end of the Lightning F.6 on display at the RAF Museum, Hendon



An F.6 intercepts a Soviet bomber - it could potentially engage with missiles or cannon



The Lightning was built to get as high as possible as fast as possible, to intercept Soviet bombers

The Lightning's distinctive swept shape was optimised for Mach 2+ performance



A Lightning of the RAF Waddington Target Facilities Flight



Coming in to land with flaps and undercarriage deployed to soak up the forces involved



“THE WINGS WENT THROUGH NUMEROUS RE-DESIGNS, WITH SOME OF THE DIFFERENT MARKS OF LIGHTNING BEING ‘TWEAKED’ FOR BETTER PERFORMANCE”



DESIGN

The Lightning originated in 1948 as the P1 ‘concept’ aircraft, testing the boundaries of swept wings and finding the best shapes to break the sound barrier. The wings went through numerous re-designs, with some of the different marks of Lightning being ‘tweaked’ for better performance. The fuselage was simpler – essentially two great engines wrapped in framework, which left little internal capacity for fuel or cannons. On the F.6, the problem was solved with a belly tank along the underside doubling the fuel capacity and still leaving room for ADEN cannon.

Inset, above: Lightning F.1s of the RAF's Firebirds Display Team

ENGINE

Rolls Royce's first axial flow jet engine, the Avon, went through a series of developments. The highest thrust version was the RB.146 300 series for the Lightning, with a 15-stage compressor and two-stage turbine. The fuselage of the Lightning was formed around two of these engines, giving it immense power but also considerable technical problems. Performing maintenance frequently involved the lengthy procedure of removing one or both engines. The cramped piping and wiring also caused problems, as leaks or loose items causing friction could affect many other components.

Looking into the air intake, with one engine straight ahead and the second staggered above it



For raw power, the Avon 301 has seldom been bettered in a fighter aircraft



COCKPIT

The Lightning's cockpit was cluttered but comfortable. Visibility was poor for a fighter, and there was no heads-up display either, but the radar screen on the top right of the instrument panel compensated in part. Despite this, operating the radar while flying was tricky, and needed fast reactions. It could detect a Tupolev 95 'Bear' at about 25-28 miles' range, but at intercept speed this gave the pilot just 15 seconds to track and engage. The F.6 had a 'strip' speed display rather than the earlier models' dials.

Below: The linear 'strip' speed display that replaced the conventional dial in the F.6



SERVICE HISTORY

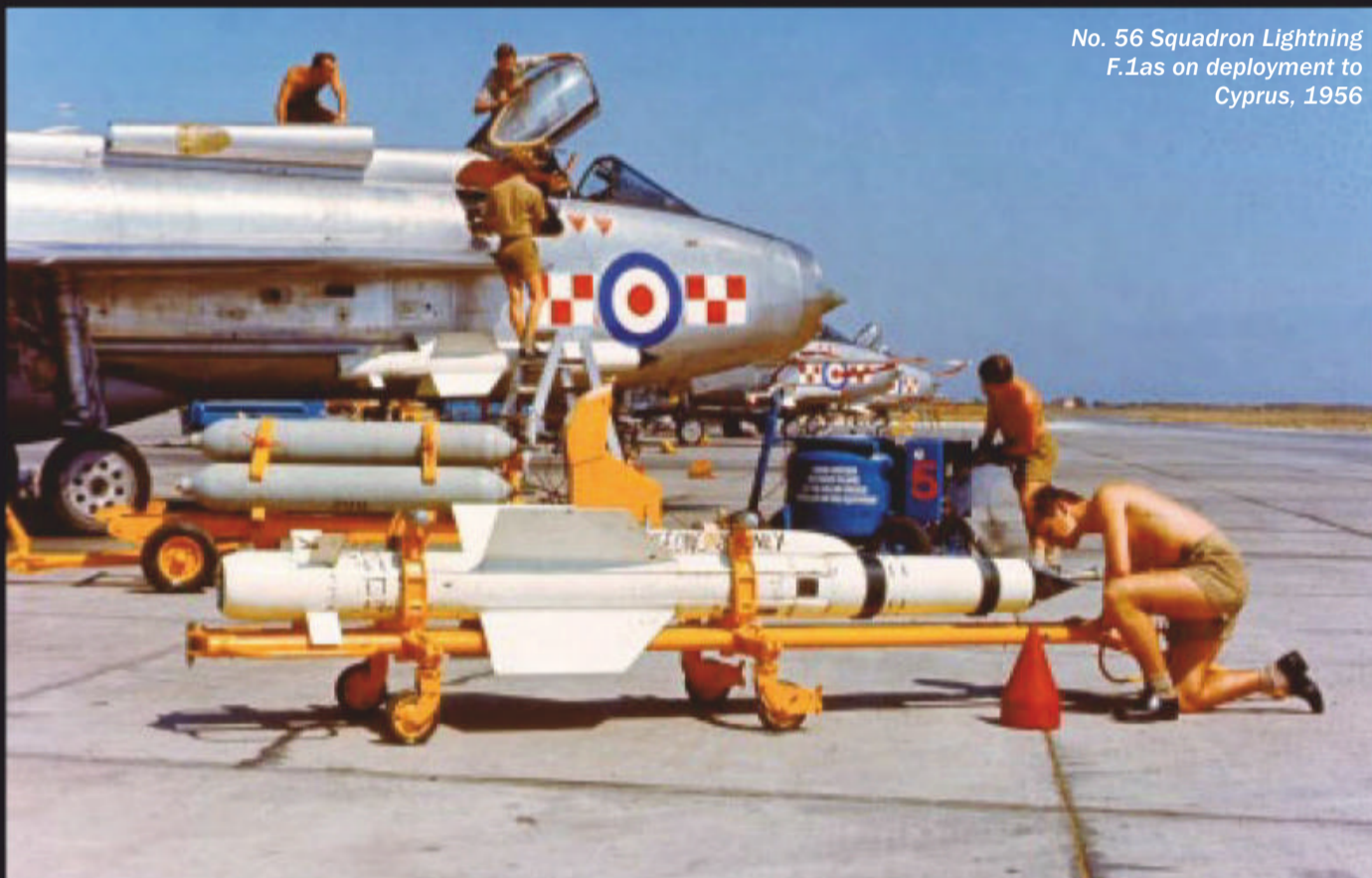
THOUGH IT NEVER SAW ACTION THE LIGHTNING F.6 HELD BRITAIN'S FRONT LINE FOR OVER 20 YEARS

The Lightning F.6 first entered service in December 1965 with No. 5 Squadron at RAF Binbrook. An improvement on earlier models with modified wings, the ability to carry cannons, and greater internal fuel capacity plus significant external fuel stores, the F.6 turned a short-range interceptor into a fighter with much longer range and significantly higher supersonic endurance. This made it suitable for a wider use and in June 1967 No. 74 Squadron became the first Lightning squadron to be permanently based in the far east, at RAF Tenagh, Singapore.

Air-to-air refuelling capability further extended their range and in 1968 F.6s became the first Lightnings to cross the Atlantic.

With increasingly aging airframes and rising maintenance costs, the Lightning F.6 began to be replaced by McDonnell Douglas Phantoms from 1974. Even so, they remained in service until 1988, having held the front line over the UK, Germany, Cyprus and the east.

“IN JUNE 1967 NO. 74 SQUADRON BECAME THE FIRST LIGHTNING SQUADRON TO BE PERMANENTLY BASED IN THE FAR EAST, AT RAF TENAGH, SINGAPORE”

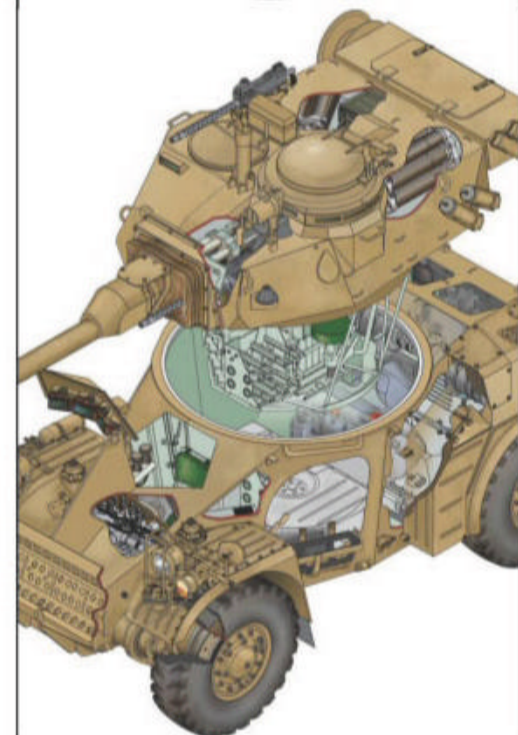


No. 56 Squadron Lightning F.1as on deployment to Cyprus, 1956

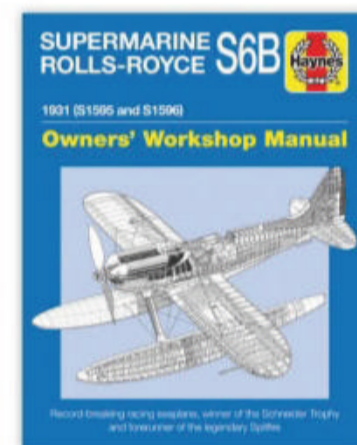


A Vulcan B.2 leads Lightning F.6s of No. 5 Squadron in formation to mark the merging of Fighter and Bomber Commands into Strike Command, 1968

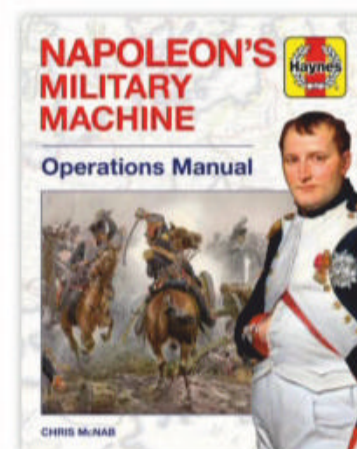
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Heroes of the Victoria Cross

JACK MANTLE

The only VC earned in a German air attack was awarded to Leading Seaman Jack Mantle. It was the second VC awarded for action in Britain and the sole one awarded for action on a Royal Navy ship in home waters

WORDS ANDY SAUNDERS

With the capitulation of France and the Low Countries in the early summer of 1940 and the subsequent withdrawal of the BEF from Dunkirk, it became ever clearer that one of Germany's principal war aims was the strangulation of Britain's supplies by attacking ports and shipping. Of course, as an island and seafaring country, the importance of protecting the nation's maritime lifeline was paramount and in the early days of the war some considerable thought was given to the protection of those assets. To that end a large number of merchant vessels were commandeered by the Admiralty for Royal Navy service.

One of them was the 5,582 ton MV Foylebank. Built in 1930 it was requisitioned on the outbreak of war in September 1939 to be converted to an anti-aircraft ship. In its new role, it was fitted out with multiple 0.5 inch machine-guns, two x Quad 2-pounder 'Pom Pom' guns and four x twin high angle 4-inch turrets. Finally commissioned on the 6 June 1940 as HMS Foylebank it made its way to Portland naval base in Dorset three days later to be worked-up for operational duties under the command of Captain H. P. Weir, RN. It was at Portland that HMS Foylebank came under devastating air attack, an assault that also saw extraordinary bravery by one of its crew.

Right: Leading Seaman Jack Mantle who died after the Luftwaffe's Stuka force launched an attack on HMS Foylebank at the Portland naval base in Dorset



With reconnaissance flights having confirmed the presence of Foylebank moored in Portland Harbour, an attack by the Luftwaffe's Stuka force against the port and associated shipping and infrastructure was ordered. On 4 July 1940, with long-range fighter cover provided by Messerschmitt 110s and 109s, the Junkers 87 dive-bombers of III./St G 51 struck shortly after 8.15am. The attackers targeted port installations and shipping in the harbour. In total 26 dive bombers took part in the raid with HMS Foylebank being singled out for particular attention. The Stukas, however, dived on Foylebank before the gun crews had time to properly react to the "Action Stations!" alert, an alert that many of the crew thought to be another drill in the working-up routine.

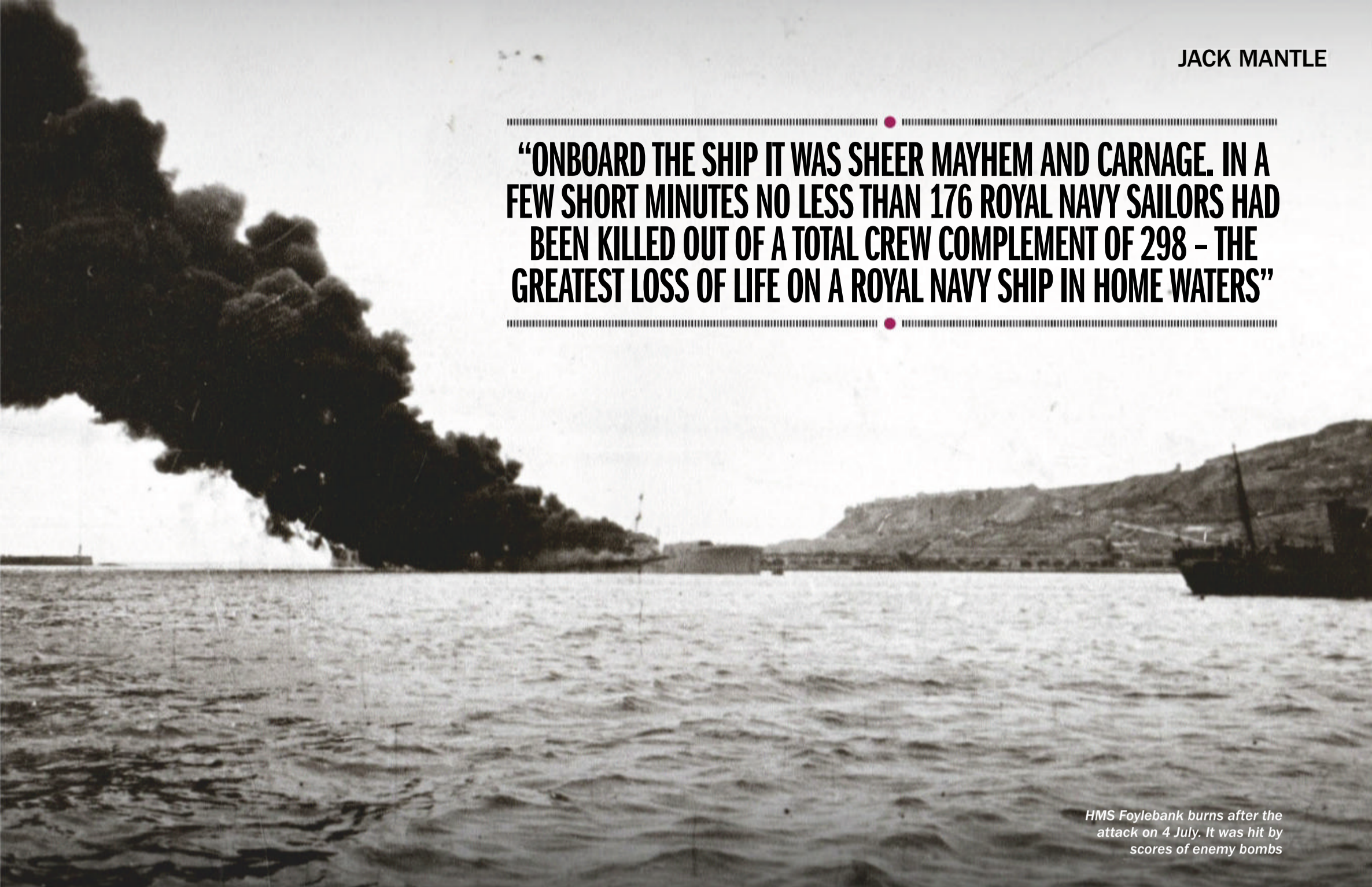
Unlike many of the Stuka's shipping targets in the English Channel, Foylebank was, quite literally, a sitting duck – stationary, and within the harbour. There was no question of being able to take avoiding action, and bombs struck it with a total of 22 direct hits – 250kg and 50kg missiles raining down in salvos – 104 in total being dropped. Other bombs fell close to Foylebank causing blast and splinter damage, one of them scoring a direct hit on Foylebank's tender that had been tied up alongside, blowing it to matchwood.

Onboard the ship it was sheer mayhem and carnage. In a few short minutes no less than 176 Royal Navy sailors had been killed out of a total crew complement of 298 – the greatest loss of life on a Royal Navy ship in home waters. HMS Foylebank was also set on fire

.....●.....

“ONBOARD THE SHIP IT WAS SHEER MAYHEM AND CARNAGE. IN A FEW SHORT MINUTES NO LESS THAN 176 ROYAL NAVY SAILORS HAD BEEN KILLED OUT OF A TOTAL CREW COMPLEMENT OF 298 – THE GREATEST LOSS OF LIFE ON A ROYAL NAVY SHIP IN HOME WATERS”

.....●.....



HMS Foylebank burns after the attack on 4 July. It was hit by scores of enemy bombs



Foylebank was a converted merchant ship, requisitioned in September 1939

HEROES OF THE VICTORIA CROSS

ultimately sinking the following day. In her final moments as an operational vessel, however, some of the gunners got to their stations and readied themselves to fire at the attackers. Such was the surprise of the raid, however, and so quickly was it all over, that, of the main armament, only the ship's "Y" 4-inch gun was able to fire, getting off 27 rounds from the port barrel and 28 from the starboard. Meanwhile a young Leading Seaman, Jack Mantle, was battling with his crew to get their set of Pom-Pom guns to bear on the enemy.

In their attacks the Stuka pilots' adopted method was to dive as steeply as possible, and sometimes at up to 90°, towards the stern of the ship. At around 1,500ft the angle was decreased to 45° and the pilot's gunsight lined up on the target ship's stern as the pilot fired his twin 7.92mm MG 17 machine-guns. Gradually the bullets moved along the length of the ship and when the pilot saw his bullets striking the water ahead of the ship's bow, so the bombs were released. In this way, the gunfire was an aid to sighting as well as keeping the heads of defenders down.

As the Stuka pulled away, the rear gunner took over machine-gunning, so as to suppress anti-aircraft fire and when the Stukas dived on Foylebank they were raking it with high explosives and bullets almost continuously for several minutes – just at the moment gun crews were racing along exposed decks and gangways, and up ladders, to get to their stations. Some were lucky to escape. Others were cut down by machine-gun bullets or splinters, or else caught by direct bomb hits.

Standing in his exposed gun position Jack Mantle was getting his guns to bear on the attackers to defend against yet another attack. However he had already been seriously wounded by bomb splinters and as he opened fire so too did the pilot of a diving Stuka. Unfortunately the heroic sailor fell across his gun, mortally wounded, now having been hit across the chest with machine-gun bullets. Lifted down gently from his bullet and shrapnel-raked station, soaked in blood, Mantle was taken to Portland Hospital where the 23-year-old seaman from Wandsworth died later that day. Of Mantle's actions Captain H. P. Wilson reported to the C-in-C Portsmouth. On receiving Wilson's report, he was moved to record that Mantle had, "... behaved too magnificently for words."

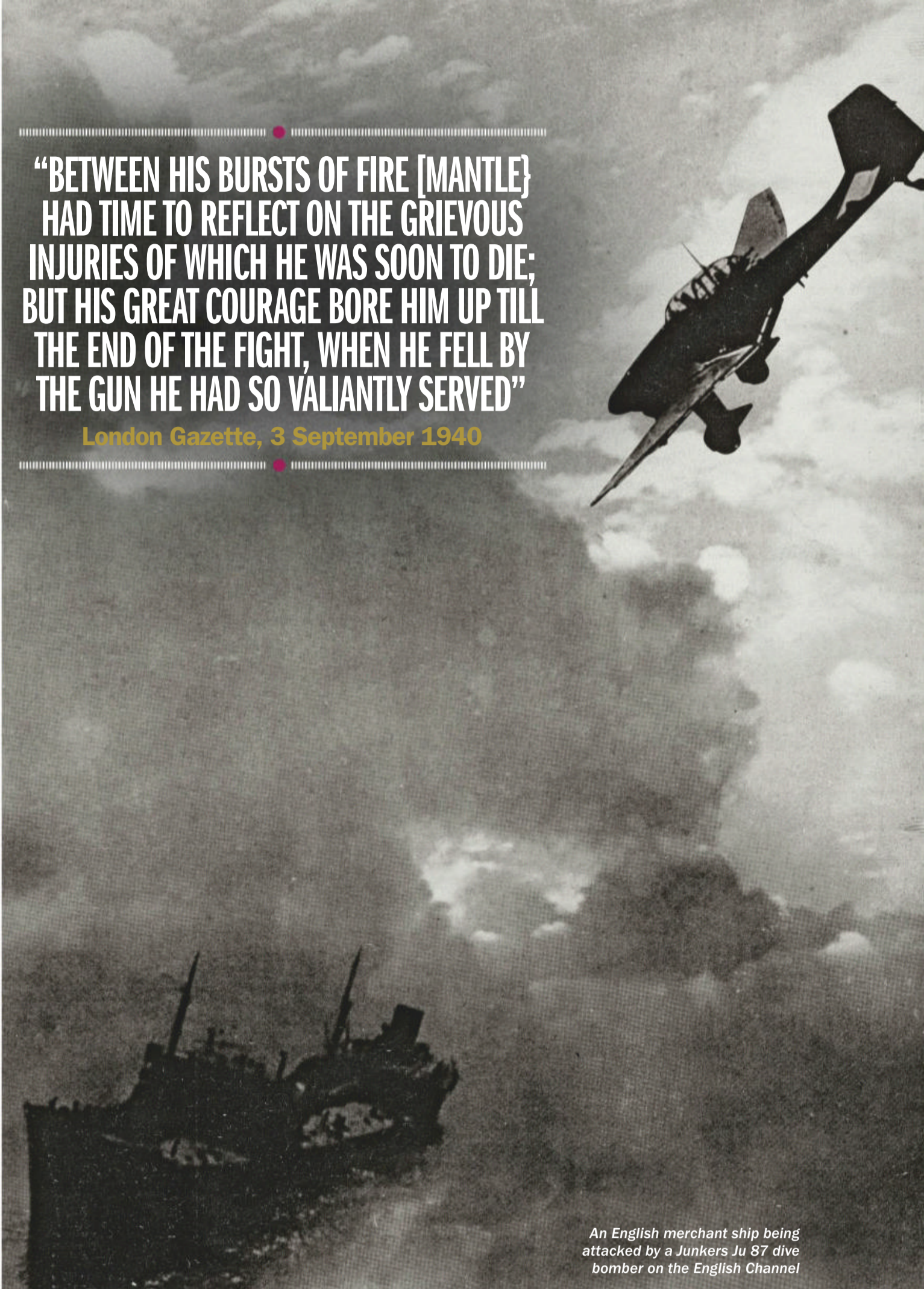
One who was there, Ron Walsh, recalled that magnificent behaviour, "When the attack came, I didn't have time to give it a second thought. So much was still happening. Making my way towards the bows, I reached amidships where the passageway between the engine room bulkhead and starboard guardrail had been reduced to about eight feet in width.

"I stopped as there was a pile of bodies in the way. 'Push your way through them, or walk over them, they're all dead!' said Petty Officer Sansome, the Gunnery PO, who was standing in the gangway just before the starboard Pom Pom mounting. As I came up to him, I saw there were four others waiting and he told me to '... stay with them, Mantle hasn't finished yet. When he has, we'll need to get him down and over the side into one of those boats'.

"A bomb had exploded near Leading Seaman Jack Mantle's gun, killing and injuring some of

"BETWEEN HIS BURSTS OF FIRE [MANTLE] HAD TIME TO REFLECT ON THE GRIEVOUS INJURIES OF WHICH HE WAS SOON TO DIE; BUT HIS GREAT COURAGE BORE HIM UP TILL THE END OF THE FIGHT, WHEN HE FELL BY THE GUN HE HAD SO VALIANTLY SERVED"

London Gazette, 3 September 1940



An English merchant ship being attacked by a Junkers Ju 87 dive bomber on the English Channel



Royal Navy crewmen man an anti-aircraft 'Pom-Pom' gun while in rough seas

his gun crew. He himself had a shattered left leg but had dragged himself up to the gun and prepared to engage the enemy. One raider had dropped his bomb and was now readying to attack again with machine-guns – having turned over the Mole and headed back towards us. Jack Mantle, although in great pain, had the barrels of his guns trained on the incoming enemy. The leading seaman was struggling to pull back the ‘change-over’ lever on top of the gun, so as to move it from ‘electrics’ to ‘hand-firing’. (We’d lost all electrical power when the first bombs hit.) The lever had been slightly bent by blast, and he was cursing as the range rapidly closed. Then, in the last few seconds, the enemy gunner and Mantle both opened fire together. I was uncertain as to what happened next. Had the ‘plane gone by, or had it exploded into pieces?

“Mantle was now slumped over his gun, either due to his former wounds or due to the Stuka’s machine-gun fire. I can’t say which. What I am sure of is that Leading Seaman Mantle was still alive then. He was a bloody hero. No doubt of that!”

Leading Seaman Peter Davies, one of Jack Mantle’s gun crew, was even better placed than Ron Walsh to comment. He also was in no doubt as to his comrade’s bravery, “Our gun crew was in action from almost the start of the attack, but moments after we opened fire a bomb exploded nearby. We were all blasted by the explosion and I couldn’t hear

anything. I’d also been hit by bullets, but only realised this later on. The gun position itself was now tilting outboard at a crazy angle and when I collected my senses a bit, I realised with horror that four of our crew were dead. I’d also been hit by splinters, but one of our crew, Johnny Millen, had lost a leg. Mantle was badly hurt but he went back to his post and started firing again. Then both he and I were

“MANTLE WAS NOW SLUMPED OVER HIS GUN, EITHER DUE TO HIS FORMER WOUNDS OR DUE TO THE STUKA’S MACHINE-GUN FIRE. I CAN’T SAY WHICH. WHAT I AM SURE OF IS THAT LEADING SEAMAN MANTLE WAS STILL ALIVE THEN. HE WAS A BLOODY HERO. NO DOUBT OF THAT!”

Able Seaman, Ron Walsh

again hit by machine-gun bullets from another attacker and Jack was done for. In my state there wasn’t anything else I could do. The ship had been hit by multiple bombs and it was now listing quite badly and burning. I’ll never forget that all along the port side of the ship the bodies were heaped up, six-deep in places. One thing, though, I don’t know how Jack managed to keep going. He’d been badly hit in the leg, was really losing lots of blood and was hit, twice I think, by machine-gun bullets. He deserved that medal alright.”

Notwithstanding Jack’s Mantle’s courage, nothing that might be called a wholly effective defence was put up by HMS Foylebank, purely because the ship was not at battle-station readiness when the attack came without warning. Although it was an anti-aircraft ship it had been sunk by air attack – the very type of attack against which it was designed to defend. However, two Stukas were lost to anti-aircraft fire during the attack. One crew being killed when their Junkers 87 crashed into the English Channel south of Portland and the crew of another being rescued from the sea off the Cotentin Peninsula. The possibility that one or other of these aircraft, or perhaps both, might have fallen victim to Jack Mantle’s gunnery cannot be excluded.

Jack Mantle’s VC is now displayed at the National Museum of the Royal Navy in Portsmouth.



A Luftwaffe crew loads a 250kg bomb onto a Ju 87 before takeoff

Images: Getty

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TRANSLATING EVIL

High-ranking Nazi defendants in the dock at the Nuremberg Trials including Hermann Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keitel and Karl Dönitz



Ernst Kaltenbrunner on trial, December 1945. Kaltenbrunner was the highest-ranked member of the SS to be tried at Nuremberg but Frank goaded him for crying in front of British officers



TRANSLATING EVIL



Paul Hooley, MBE, discusses Wolfe Frank – linguist, soldier and refugee who became the chief interpreter at the Nuremberg Trials

WORDS TOM GARNER

The Nuremberg Trials are the most famous military tribunals in history. Overseen by Allied forces in the immediate aftermath of WWII, the trials were the prosecution of prominent members of Nazi Germany. These individuals were responsible for participating in some of the worst war crimes in history, including the Holocaust.

Held within the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, the first and best-known tribunal was that of 24 major war criminals of the Nazi regime between November 1945 and October 1946. Key to the proceedings was the team of linguists who ensured that statements and rulings were fairly translated. Towering above all was the Chief Interpreter, Wolfe Frank, who is now the subject of the posthumously published autobiography *Nuremberg's Voice Of Doom*.

Compiled and edited by historian Paul Hooley from previously hidden memoirs, the book reveals a fascinating man. Frank was a German underground resistance worker against the Nazis during the 1930s before he was forced to flee to Britain. He initially prospered but was then interned during the initial years of WWII. Frank was eventually released and joined the British Army before his role at Nuremberg. He was a crucial part of the trials and became known as the 'Voice of Doom' for his official pronouncements of death sentences.

Frank tragically committed suicide in 1988 but Hooley now reveals this extraordinary character who was both an adventurous hedonist and a deeply courageous man of integrity.

"A historian's dream"

What were the circumstances that led you to editing Frank's papers into a book?

In 2015 a friend of mine, Mike Dillaway, was moving home and came across boxes and briefcases full of documents that he had inherited from a friend, Wolfe Frank. Mike had placed the cache in his loft where it remained undisturbed for over 25 years. Not knowing what to do with the collection he asked me to see if the archive contained anything of importance. After having sorted, catalogued, researched and checked several thousand sheets of data, my heart soared with excitement at the realisation of important discoveries.

The collection turned out to be the memoirs and associated documents of Frank who had been the chief interpreter at the International War Crimes Trials in Nuremberg. The archive was a historian's dream.

What was his personality like?

All those I have spoken to who knew Frank remembered him as a charming, imposing and modest man of good taste and manners. He was always impeccably dressed and kept very much to himself. However, in spite of appearing to be the quintessential Englishman, he was a refugee who had fled Nazi Germany in 1937 and was branded "an enemy of the state to be shot on sight". He had also been a strikingly handsome man and was irresistible to the ladies.

Frank was a unique character of extreme contrasts. He spent a lifetime in the fast lane enjoying himself, even during the most difficult of times. It cannot be denied that he was a maverick who took liberties and was a playboy, risk taker, serial adulterer and heavy drinker.

However he was also a man of immense courage, honour and ability. His handling of the translations, interrogations and interpretations at Nuremberg sets him apart from all other interpreters of his time, perhaps of all time.

"HE WAS ASKED TO UNDERTAKE THE TOUGHEST ASSIGNMENT IMAGINABLE AND WAS PERHAPS THE ONLY MAN IN THE WORLD WHO COULD HAVE SATISFIED ALL CONCERNED"



Above: Frank (right) and Judge Michael Musmanno of the US Navy (centre) interrogating SS general Karl Wolff. Musmanno later gifted and inscribed this photograph to Frank calling him the "Ace Interpreter" at Nuremberg

He was asked to undertake the toughest assignment imaginable and was perhaps the only man in the world who could have satisfied all concerned.

Resistance and exile

How did Nazism change his life?

Frank was the son of a Jewish industrialist and had a privileged upbringing but all that changed in 1933. Firstly, his father – who had lost his factories and knew, as a Jew, what lay ahead of him – took his own life. Frank was also present in Munich on 5 March 1933 when he watched the Nazis' triumphant parade as they announced Hitler's coming to power. During the rally he witnessed what was almost certainly the Third Reich's first public beating of a Jew. This incident led Frank to resolve that he would never give the salute himself again and he managed to avoid doing so even when he was actually in Hitler's presence.

Frank became an active member of an underground resistance movement, based at the Carlton Tearooms, where he and Hitler often took refreshment. A movement that was involved in smuggling large amounts of money and endangered Jewish citizens out of Germany was right under Hitler's nose.

What prompted Frank to leave Germany?

His life changed dramatically in 1936. He met and fell in love with the woman who was to become his first wife but they were unable to marry because of his non-Aryan ancestry. The couple were befriended by a British Army officer in Italy who arranged for them to come to England and be married. Upon his return home, Frank was tipped off by a friend in the Gestapo that he was about to be arrested and interned in Dachau concentration camp. He escaped to Switzerland and then England, leaving behind his bride of six days, whom he did not see for almost ten years.

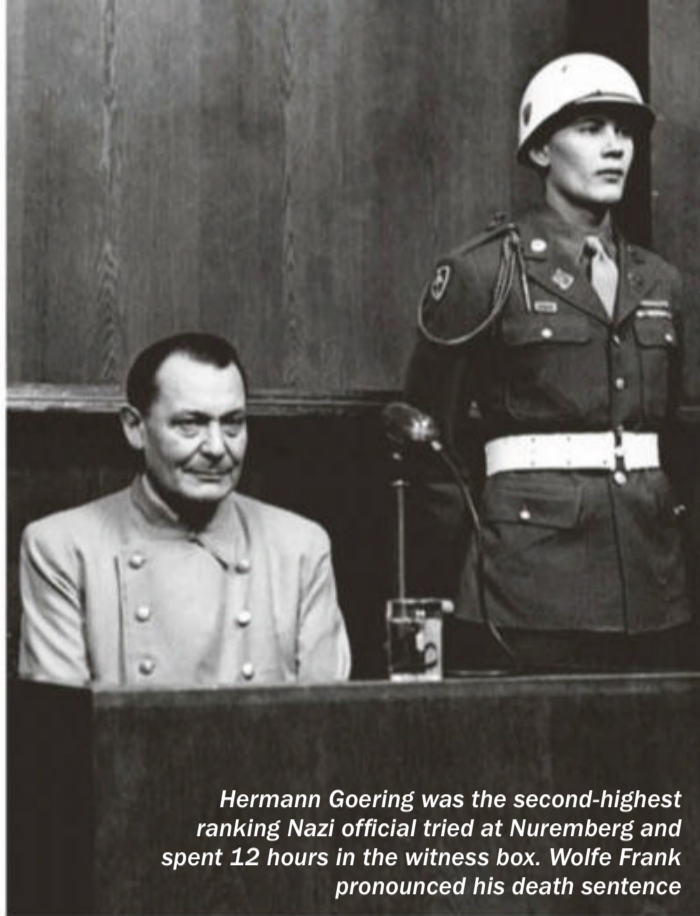
Arriving in England without money, few possessions, and unable to speak the language, Frank enthusiastically integrated into British life. He was fluent in English within two years, became a managing director of two companies, produced a West End musical and was an executive with a land corporation.

What were Frank's initial experiences during the war?

In spite of his known heroism as a resistance worker and having been officially declared an enemy of the Third Reich, Frank was arrested at



Wolfe Frank pictured at the Nuremberg Trials c.1945-46



Hermann Goering was the second-highest ranking Nazi official tried at Nuremberg and spent 12 hours in the witness box. Wolfe Frank pronounced his death sentence



Frank (centre) and other interpreters follow proceedings while waiting for their turn in the interpreting booths



the beginning of WWII, along with all other former German and Austrian citizens, and interned as an enemy alien. Frank was determined to clear his name, gain his freedom and join the British Army. Within weeks of his detainment he was appointed “camp leader” and applied pressure on those commanding the various camps.

Frank’s persistence eventually paid off and he was not only released, but allowed to enlist in the British Army’s Auxiliary Pioneer Corps. In December 1944 he joined the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers as a second lieutenant.

A pivotal role

How was Frank selected for the trials?

Frank was appointed as a staff captain following the Allied victory and instructed to join the British War Crimes Executive. He was informed, “This unit will be engaged in collecting material for the prosecution of the major war criminals. That’s Goering and others. We leave on Sunday.” Frank was therefore involved with the BWCE from day one and was given the very first piece of evidence to translate, which was Hitler’s infamous ‘Night & Fog’ decree. This had ordered the execution of Allied airmen, which later featured in the film *The Great Escape*.

The BWCE moved to Bad Oeynhausen where Frank honed his skills as a translator, investigator and interrogator. This led to him being singled out as an interpreter with exceptional skills and brought him to the attention of the head of the US Language Division, Leon Dostert. He immediately had Frank transferred onto the US translating team for the Nuremberg Trials, which led to him being appointed as chief interpreter.

What was Frank’s role at the trials and how valuable were his interpreting skills?

By the time of the trials Frank was considered to be the finest interpreter in the world. He spoke and understood German better than most Germans did and spoke English with the depth, clarity and diction of a highly educated British aristocrat. Frank’s contributions at Nuremberg were considered to be major factors in seeing that justice was fairly interpreted and translated to all parties. This is said to have shortened the proceedings by an estimated three years.

To put this into context, the first and most important of the trials lasted ten months, during which time the interpreters spoke six million words – predominantly in English and German. Frank was directly involved in translating one third of everything spoken into English and a similar amount into German. This included nine of the 12 hours Hermann Goering spent in the witness box.

British prosecutor Sir David Maxwell Fyfe’s cross-examination of Hermann Goering is considered to be one of the most noted performances in legal history and Frank faultlessly repeated everything said by both Maxwell Fyfe and Goering throughout. Frank was also the only interpreter at Nuremberg who could be used on both English and German interpretation teams.

What was his role in pioneering ‘simultaneous interpretation’ during the trials?

Simultaneous interpretation was born at Nuremberg. Previously, in every sphere of life – diplomacy, industry, science and all other areas – interpretation had always been done consecutively.

“FRANK WAS ALSO AN INVESTIGATOR, INTERROGATOR AND EVIDENCE GATHERER”

Simultaneous interpretation is now widely used but when the trials started no one knew about it. At Nuremberg the original statement, such as testimony before the court, was delivered into a microphone that was connected by cable to the earphones of an interpreter for the first time. As he listened to the speaker, the interpreter simultaneously delivered a spoken translation into a microphone in his booth.

A cable connected his microphone, as well as those of other interpreters seated in other booths to a selector switch, which was installed at every seat in the auditorium. A listener could then dial the channel that carried the language he wished to hear.

Which Nazis did Frank translate for and encounter?

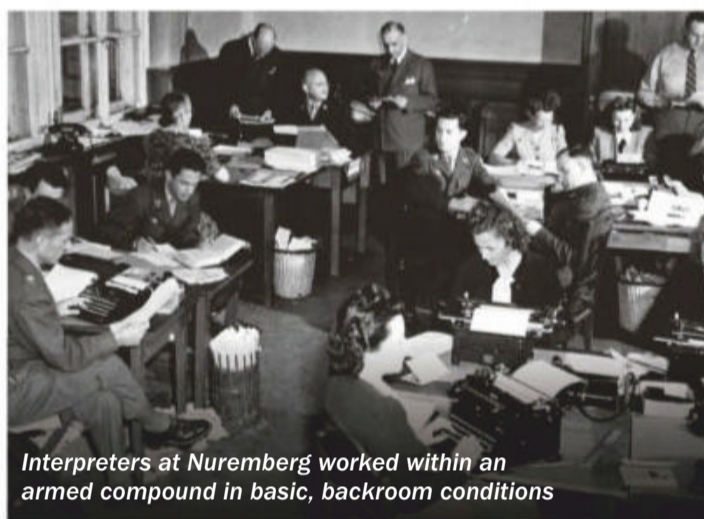
Quite apart from being an interpreter, Frank was also an investigator, interrogator and evidence gatherer. He was additionally given the task of helping the defendants choose their lawyers. These roles brought him into contact with all the war criminals particularly during the first and most major trial of the top 24 Nazis. This included Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keitel, Albert Speer and perhaps the most evil of them all, according to Frank, Otto Ohlendorf.



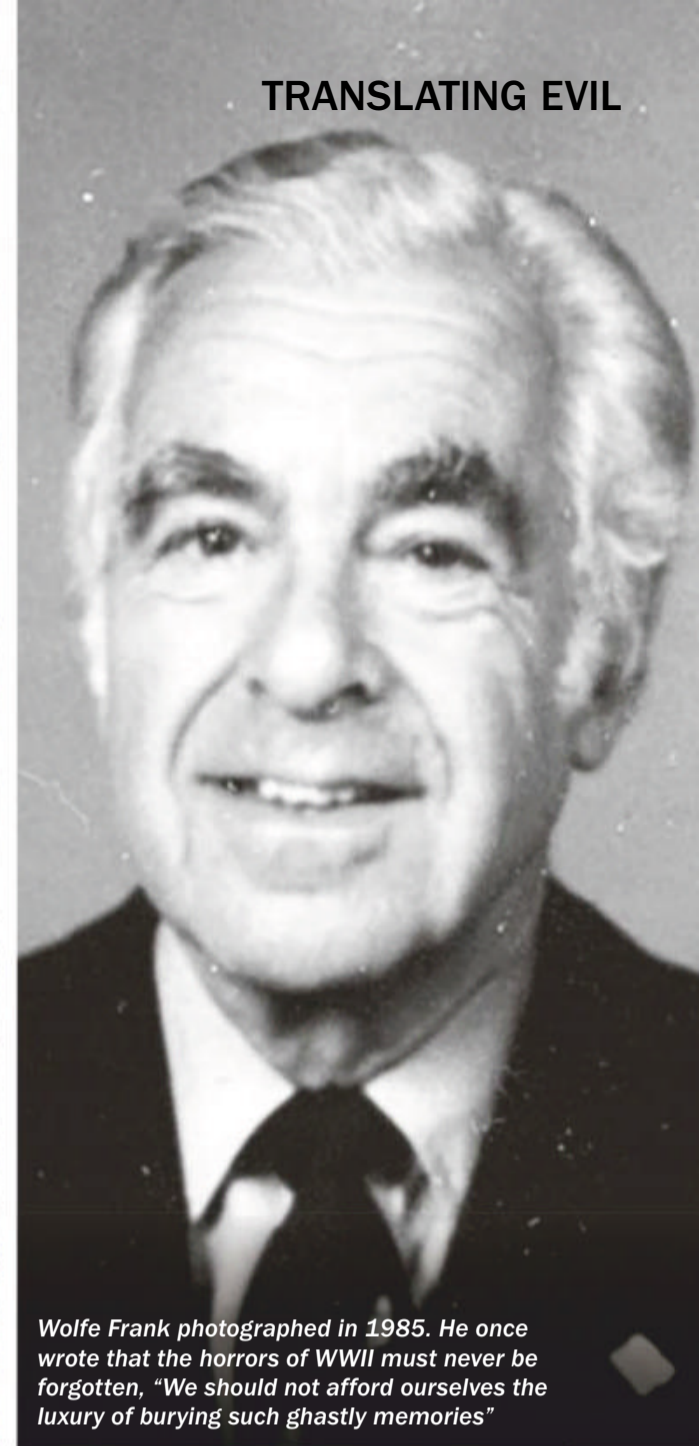
Frank (centre) pictured interpreting the testimony of Hermann Goering. To his right is American officer Captain Harry Sperber who, like Frank, was a German refugee



Franz von Papen, Hjalmar Schacht and Hans Fritzsche hold a press conference in court immediately after Frank announced their acquittal



Interpreters at Nuremberg worked within an armed compound in basic, backroom conditions



Wolfe Frank photographed in 1985. He once wrote that the horrors of WWII must never be forgotten, "We should not afford ourselves the luxury of burying such ghastly memories"

What was his opinion of those on trial?

Whenever Frank dealt directly with the war criminals he seems to have been able to set aside personal feelings in all formal situations. However during the long periods of interrogation he did let slip examples of another side to his character. He told Ernst Kaltenbrunner that it had been a pleasure to have seen him cry in front of British officers, and his goading of Wilhelm Keitel over the criminal aspects of his execution orders led the field marshal to angrily retort, "I was with the Fuhrer when the bomb went off in the assassination attempt. I would give anything to have been killed by his side then."

Frank himself wrote, "I am a total believer in the Nuremberg Trials. I do not believe that any alternative solution existed. The fact that other similar crimes were committed, sometimes on the Allied side, does not mean that Nuremberg was morally, legally, ethically or historically wrong. Even Goering thought they were fair."

How did he acquire his nickname 'The Voice of Doom'?

From the moment the trials started, Frank became a central figure at all stages. He interpreted the tribunal's opening remarks, was used more than any other interpreter, and then finally brought proceedings to a close by informing the defendants of their fate. This was a duty, simultaneously listened to by an estimated radio audience of four hundred million, which led the world's media to dub him the 'Voice of Doom'. The first and last words the defendants heard in their own language at Nuremberg were uttered by Wolfe Frank, a man they trusted implicitly and for whom they had the highest possible regard.

Frank describes his announcing of the death sentences to 11 of the accused as the tensest hour of his life. Even this was not without further incident. As he was about to inform Goering of his fate, the sound equipment cut out. Goering shrugged at Frank to indicate he could not hear what was being said.

Once fixed, Frank resumed and Goering gave him a thin smile and a thumbs-up sign, to indicate he could hear again. This was at the very moment Frank announced "death by the rope". It was a surreal moment that haunted Frank for the rest of his life.

"The ace of them all"

How did Frank's contemporaries regard him?

Michael Musmanno, one of the presiding judges at Nuremberg, inscribed on a photograph of him and Frank interrogating General Karl Wolff, "To Wolfe Frank – Ace Interpreter at the Nuremberg International War Crimes Trials – and so far as I am concerned the whole world round."

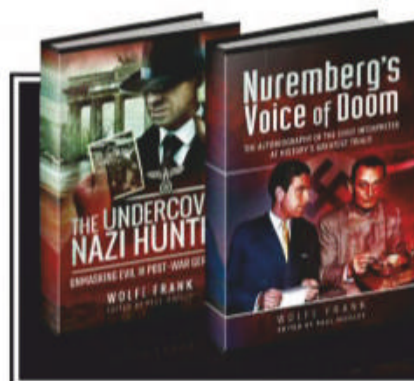
Elsewhere one of the prosecutors, Henry T. King Jr., recalled, "Frank's translations were delicious – he had a great command of the English language. I used to go to the

courtroom sometimes in the afternoon just to listen to him."

International journalists including R. W. Cooper of *The Times* also praised Frank, "By common accord Captain Wolfe Frank, translating from German into English, who came to Nuremberg in British uniform and returned as a civilian, was the ace of them all."

How does it feel to have posthumously published his autobiography and what is your personal opinion of Frank?

I knew it was my duty to ensure that the important historical information contained in Frank's memoirs became more widely known. I hope I have done him justice and told his story the way he would have wanted it presented, warts and all. I also hope that readers will see what I see, that there was once a man whose "superlative scholarship, administration, intellect and integrity" won him the unreserved praise of all who witnessed his performances on a world stage. He was a major contributing factor in the success of the "greatest trial the world has ever seen".



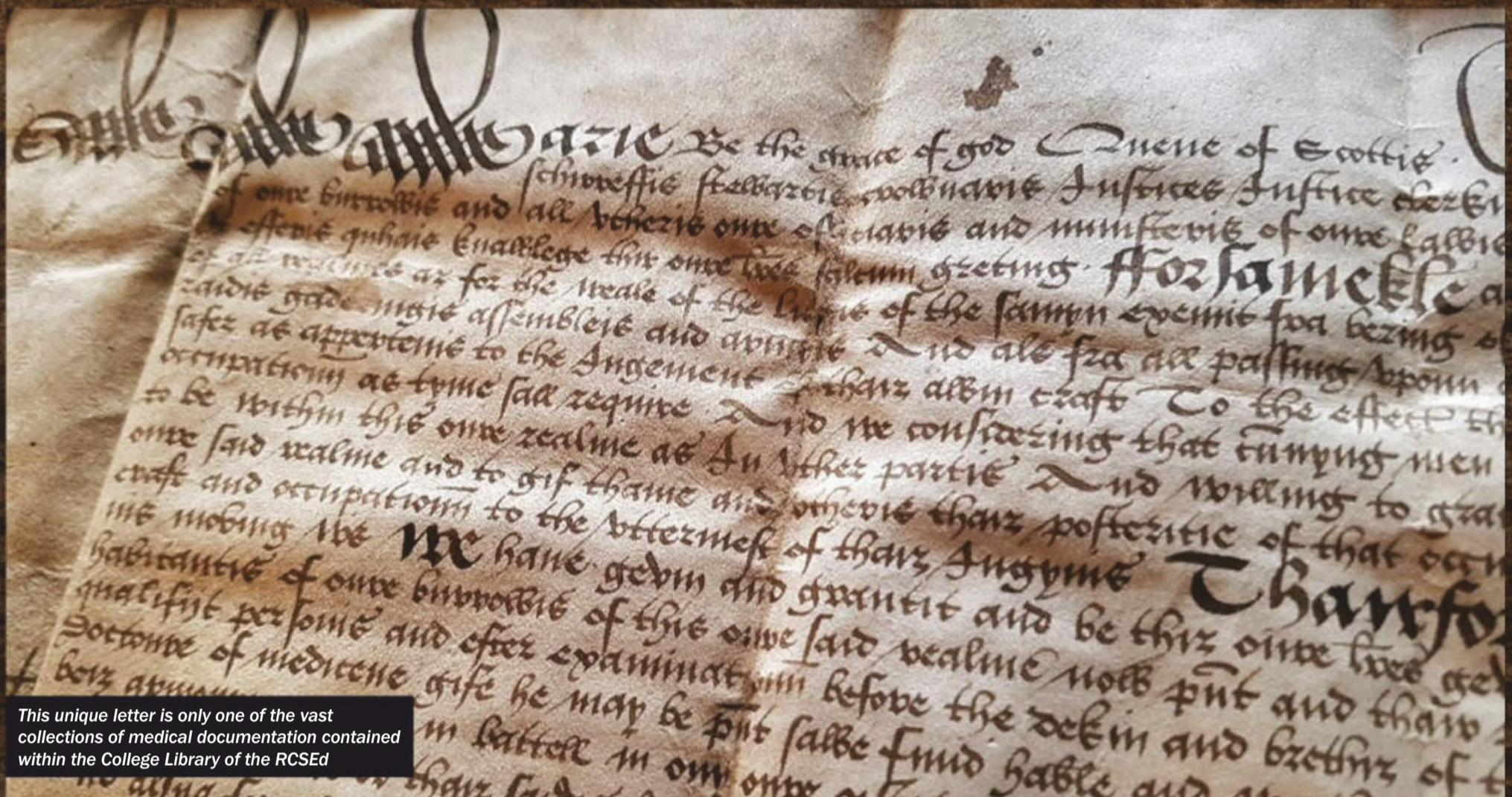
Wolfe Frank is the subject of the posthumous autobiographies *Nuremberg's Voice Of Doom* and the upcoming *The Undercover Nazi Hunter*. Both are edited by Paul Hooley and published by Pen & Sword Books. For more information visit: pen-and-sword.co.uk

A former mayor of Bedford, Paul Hooley was appointed an MBE in 2003 and has edited two volumes of Wolfe Frank's memoirs



MUSEUMS & EVENTS

Discover Bromley's new Battle of Britain museum, Cornwall's wartime communications and the connection between a 16th century queen and the Geneva Convention



This unique letter is only one of the vast collections of medical documentation contained within the College Library of the RCSEd

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS & MILITARY SURGEONS

A previously hidden document reveals the Stuart monarch's humane concern for the role of medics in warfare

Britain is currently rediscovering its fascination with Mary, Queen of Scots thanks to a new Oscar and BAFTA-nominated film starring Saoirse Ronan and Margot Robbie. The Stuart monarch is one of the most famous figures in British history but new facts are still being made public about her life.

The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (RCSEd) has recently made public a document showing how the queen protected the status of surgeons in military law. Known as a 'Letter of Exemption' the document states that surgeons should not have to bear arms in battle and instead focus on tending to the wounded. Signed "Mary by the Grace of God,

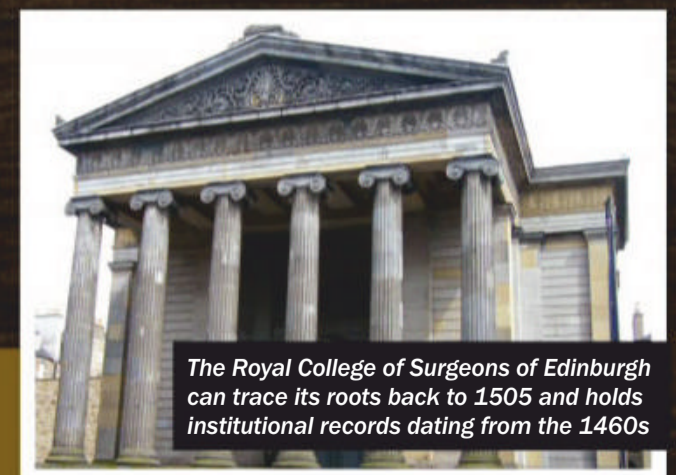
"ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER MARY WAS REFERRING TO THE CARE OF ENEMY SOLDIERS AS WELL, THE DOCUMENT WAS REMARKABLY AHEAD OF ITS TIME"

Queen of Scots", the letter is believed to have been intended for the whole population of Scotland. It puts responsibility upon surgeons to be "present with our armies ready to do their cure and duty to all sick persons".

Dated to May 1567 this document reveals a humanitarian side to Mary at the height of her own personal turmoil. The queen had not only given birth to her son the previous year, but she had also recently survived an attempted coup by her own husband Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, as well as witnessing the murder of her secretary David Rizzio. Darnley was subsequently murdered in February 1567 while Mary was abducted and allegedly raped just months before signing the Letter of Exemption. Although it is not clear whether Mary was referring to the care of enemy soldiers as well, the document was remarkably ahead of its time. The perception of medical staff as non-combatants in warfare is usually ascribed to the first Geneva Convention of 1864. Nevertheless the Letter

of Exemption shows that Mary was clearly setting down these particular rights for surgeons three centuries earlier.

Mary's letter is now available to be viewed on archiveandlibrary.rcsed.ac.uk. This is a new resource launched by the RCSEd that allows people to easily delve into the medical history. Chris Henry, the director of heritage at the RCSEd, says of the royal document, "This unique artefact is one of the college's treasured possessions. It gives us a fantastic insight into the ethics and civilisation of 16th century Scotland as well as the standing of surgeons in the capital back then."



The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh can trace its roots back to 1505 and holds institutional records dating from the 1460s

**FOR MORE INFORMATION VISIT:
RCSENG.AC.UK**

WWII AT THE TELEGRAPH MUSEUM

Cornwall rediscovers its secret communications history with new exhibitions at Porthcurno

Cornwall was, and remains, the main landing site for international communications in Britain. From 1 April 2019 the Telegraph Museum is launching a fascinating season of interactive exhibitions about the science, people and stories that make up the history of global communications.

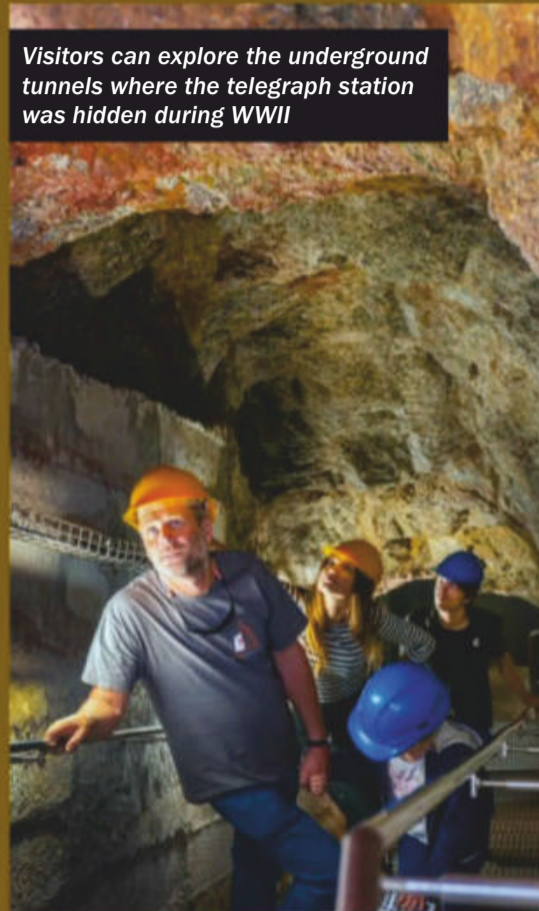
Located in the Cornish village of Porthcurno the museum is a vibrant heritage attraction and is designed for people of all ages including families and schools. Porthcurno itself once boasted the largest telegraph station in the world and played an essential role during the Second World War.

Between 1939-45 the Porthcurno Telegraph Station was the hub of wartime communications in Britain. The war transformed the tiny valley and the lives of the people who lived and worked there. For example, daring work was needed to keep cable ships operating across oceans and telegrams played an important part in the war effort. Porthcurno was considered to be so strategically important to the Allies that it was moved underground and protected by bombproof doors, military guards and flamethrowers. Dug by 200 tin miners, visitors can still explore the WWII tunnels and this incredible but forgotten story is revealed in several exhibitions called Hidden Heroes, I Spy: The Secret Listeners and Going Underground.

The museum is open from 1 April between 10am-5pm.

FOR MORE VISIT: TELEGRAPHMUSEUM.ORG

Visitors can explore the underground tunnels where the telegraph station was hidden during WWII



THE AIRFIELD OF 'THE FEW'

The Biggin Hill Memorial Museum has recently opened to commemorate the bravery of those who defended the skies of southern England

RAF Biggin Hill played a crucial role as one of the most important fighter bases protecting south east England from attack by enemy bombers during the Battle of Britain. During WWII squadrons based at the airfield destroyed 1,400 enemy aircraft at the cost of 453 aircrew.

Visitors can explore the airfield's distinguished history at the newly opened Biggin Hill Memorial Museum. Located in the London borough of Bromley, the museum took 16 months to complete and was funded by the National Lottery and central government.

More than 80 exhibits are displayed in the museum including the famous Biggin Hill 'Scramble' and 'Victory' bells, a Spitfire escape crowbar and a Luftwaffe tea set. There is also audio guide commentary narrated by historian Dan Snow with additional archive voice testimony from veterans Robin Appleford and Geoffrey Wellum.

The museum's patron, Winston Churchill's great-grandson, Randolph Churchill comments, "The name Biggin Hill has become synonymous with Britain's defiance of Hitler and Nazism. My great-grandfather helped establish the Royal Air Force in the aftermath of that first global conflict and watched as Biggin Hill developed from his nearby home in Chartwell. This was an airfield he knew, and which helped inspire his oratory about the role of 'the Few'."

An armourer adjusts machine guns on a Spitfire with a periscope unit at Biggin Hill. The aircraft was part of No. 341 (Free French) Squadron



FOR MORE INFORMATION VISIT: BHMM.ORG.UK



Geoffrey Wellum (right) flew Spitfires from Biggin Hill during the Battle of Britain. His testimony is one of the archive veteran voices provided with the audio commentary

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FT Weekend

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OXFORD LITERARY FESTIVAL 2019

A staggering 160 events including authors, writers & historians, are set to make this year's festival the best yet

For nine days the world-famous university city will play host to the Oxford Literary Festival, which along with its title partner FT Weekend will be presenting a wealth of speakers and events on every conceivable subject, from archaeology to wildlife, and everything in between.

History of War and sister title All About History are proud to be supporting several speaker events across the festival, including renowned historians such as Adam Zamoyski, Dr Anna Beer, Dr Simon Targett and hosts of the *Histories Of The Unexpected* podcast Dr Sam Willis and Professor James Daybell. Journalist and author Tim Bouverie will be discussing his new book *Appeasing Hitler* on Friday 5 April. Elsewhere in their talk 'The King's War' Peter Conradi and Mark Logue will be discussing the later career of Mark's grandfather and speech therapist to George VI, Lionel Logue.

Of course, there are more than just the shining stars of the history world over the packed lineup, which also includes philosophers, novelists, comedians and broadcasters. Cultural historian and broadcaster Dr Janina Ramirez will be discussing her first foray into children's historical fiction, with her new book *Riddle Of The Runes*. Chief curator of the Royal Historic Palaces Lucy Worsley will be revealing how she approached her third novel *Lady Mary*, which recounts Henry VIII's traumatic first divorce through the eyes of his first daughter, the young princess Mary.

History of War and All About History readers can use an exclusive discount code to save 20 per cent on all non-catered events at the festival. To claim, simply visit www.oxfordliteraryfestival.org, select your event, and enter the discount code HISTORY19 when prompted at the checkout.

MUST-SEE EVENTS

Take a look at this small selection of quality talks from leading historians

APPEASING HITLER: CHAMBERLAIN, CHURCHILL & THE ROAD TO WAR Tim Bouverie Friday, 5 April, 10-11am



Journalist and historian Tim Bouverie explains the disastrous years of indecision, failed diplomacy and parliamentary infighting in Britain that allowed Nazi domination of Europe and determined the continent's fate.

Bouverie used archival research and previously unseen sources to tell the story from the rise of Hitler to British retreat at the beaches of Dunkirk. He explains how Hitler enjoyed surprising support among the ruling class in Britain and even among the Royal Family and how the nation's ministers, aristocrats and amateur diplomats failed to stand up to the German dictator.

Bouverie studied history at Christ Church, Oxford. He has worked as a political journalist for Channel 4 News and regularly reviews history and politics books for national newspapers and magazines.

NAPOLEON: THE MAN BEHIND THE MYTH Adam Zamoyski Saturday, 6 April, 10-11am



Historian and writer Adam Zamoyski strips away the self-serving legend crafted by Napoleon himself to uncover the real man behind the myths.

Zamoyski says there is a more human, more understandable and far more interesting Napoleon beneath all the prejudice and myth. He explains how a boy from Corsica came to achieve what he did, placing him firmly in the context of his age. Zamoyski says Napoleon's social, physical and sexual insecurities turned his struggle for survival into a quest for acceptance through the pursuit of power, leading ultimately to his final defeat.

Zamoyski has written more than a dozen books on key figures and aspects of European history including *1812: Napoleon's Fatal March On Moscow* and *Rites Of Peace: The Fall Of Napoleon And The Congress Of Vienna*.

PATRIOT OR TRAITOR: THE LIFE & DEATH OF SIR WALTER RALEGH Anna Beer Sunday, 7 April, 4-5pm



Historian and biographer Dr Anna Beer explains how Elizabeth I's favourite and trusted adventurer Sir Walter Raleigh ended up being imprisoned in the Tower by her successor and sent, 400 years ago, to the scaffold.

Raleigh was an adventurer, poet and writer. He was one of the few permitted to enter The Privy Chamber of Elizabeth I, and the monarch depended on him at home and abroad in times of peace and war. Beer explains how Raleigh polarised opinion in England and why his legacy remains highly controversial even today.

Beer is a cultural historian and visiting fellow of the University of Oxford. She has also written biographies of Milton and Lady Bess Raleigh and is author of *Sounds And Sweet Airs: The Forgotten Women Of Classical Music*.

THE KING'S WAR Peter Conradi & Mark Logue Monday 1 April, 2-3pm



Journalist Peter Conradi and filmmaker Mark Logue, authors of the bestselling book *The King's Speech*, explain how George VI's speech therapist Lionel Logue continued to play an important role in the life of the monarch.

The King's Speech showed how George VI's speech to the nation at the outbreak of war in 1939 was the result of years of hard work with his speech therapist. The book was turned into a multi-Oscar-winning film starring Colin Firth. Conradi and Logue, grandson of Lionel Logue, draw on information from the Logue archive and contemporary reports to show how the two men and their families faced up to the challenges of World War II. Conradi is *Sunday Times* foreign editor. His books include *Hitler's Piano Player: The Rise And Fall Of Ernst Hanfstaengl* and *Who Lost Russia? How The World Entered A New Cold War*. Logue is a filmmaker and the custodian of the Logue Archive.

NEW WORLD INC: HOW ENGLAND'S MERCHANTS FOUNDED AMERICA AND LAUNCHED THE BRITISH EMPIRE Dr Simon Targett Tuesday 2 April, 2-3pm



Writer and historian Dr Simon Targett tells the story of the English merchant adventurers who headed to the New World and transformed England from a relatively insignificant kingdom into a world power.

Targett describes how a group of merchants formed what was arguably the world's first joint stock company before setting out to find new markets and trading partners.

He draws on portraits of life in London and across the Atlantic to show how this group used the latest innovations, a hunger for profit and an appetite for risk to transform England's fortunes.

Targett is an award-winning journalist who has worked as a senior editor on the *Financial Times* and as global editor-in chief of The Boston Consulting Group.

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REVIEWS

Our pick of the latest military history titles hitting the shelves

KILLING NAPOLEON

A TRULY FASCINATING AND INFORMATIVE READ THAT WILL APPEAL TO ALL NAPOLEONIC ENTHUSIASTS

Author: Jonathan North **Publisher:** Amberley **Price:** £20

It has been over 200 years since the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte on the field of Waterloo, and almost 200 years since his death on the South Atlantic island of Saint Helena. Yet despite the passage of time the former Empereur des Français continues to hold much fascination amongst academics and amateur historians alike. His rise to power during the chaos of the French Revolution and his many military campaigns are, of course, both well-known and extensively written about. However what is not so well-known is the so-called Plot of the Rue Saint-Nicaise, also known as the Machine Infernale plot, a Royalist assassination attempt on Napoleon's life in December 1800. It is therefore pleasing to see the plot as the focus of a new book by author and historian Jonathan North.

This assassination attempt followed the alleged Conspiracy des poignards (the Daggers Conspiracy) of October 1800. This plot, which continues to be questioned and debated by historians, was supposedly a Jacobin conspiracy to kill Napoleon that was subsequently thwarted by Joseph Fouché's police using agents provocateurs. It is clear that despite his perceived popularity Napoleon also had many enemies within France who were prepared to facilitate his demise.

The seven Royalist plotters of the December assassination attempt had chosen a bomb to do the job, which was nicknamed the 'infernal machine' in reference to an earlier explosive device made by an Italian engineer in Spanish service, who called it the 'la macchina infernale', during the fall of Antwerp in 1585. On 24 December 1800, the bomb exploded as Napoleon's carriage, which was taking him to the Opéra, travelled down the Rue Saint-Nicaise. Napoleon, although badly shaken, escaped injury but many innocent bystanders were killed or injured in the blast.

North's new book examines the backdrop in which the above events took place and follows the cell of extremists as they plot their assassination of Napoleon, including their preparation of the 'infernal machine'. He then looks at the investigation by the security services in their quest to track down the perpetrators and their subsequent trial and punishment. North also considers how Napoleon twisted public anger in the aftermath of the explosion in order to take extreme steps against his opponents to further tighten his grip on power. Throughout the book, the author has also made much use of first-hand accounts and trial transcripts, which greatly bring the subject to life.

One interesting aspect of the book is how North puts forward the argument that the Plot of the Rue Saint-Nicaise was one of the earliest acts of terrorism. Indeed the bomb used was designed not only to eliminate its intended target but also kill and maim innocent civilians caught in the vicinity. Thus, in its intimidation of the public, it aimed to bring down a government and destroy an ideology that the plotters absolutely hated. **MS**



“IT IS CLEAR THAT, DESPITE HIS PERCEIVED POPULARITY, NAPOLEON ALSO HAD MANY ENEMIES WITHIN FRANCE WHO WERE PREPARED TO FACILITATE HIS DEMISE”

THE SURVIVAL OF THE JEWS IN FRANCE 1940-44

DRAWING ON GERMAN AND VICHY GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS, PERSONAL DIARIES, PUBLISHED MEMOIRS AND ORAL TESTIMONIES, THIS STUDY FOLLOWS THE TRAJECTORIES OF FRENCH AND FOREIGN JEWS ON THEIR PATHS FROM THE PRE-WAR PERIOD THROUGH TO THE OCCUPATION

Author: Jacques Semelin
Publisher: Hurst
Price: £30.00

Between the French defeat in 1940 and liberation in 1944 the Nazis killed almost 80,000 of France's Jews, both French and foreign nationals. There can be no dispute that this amounted to a tragedy on a staggering scale. That said some 75 per cent of France's Jewish population survived the war, a far greater proportion than in other countries that suffered the extermination policies of the Hitler regime. Only 20 per cent of Dutch Jews and 45 per cent in Belgium survived the war. However, it must not be forgotten that only about 2,500 of the 75,000 French Jews deported to Nazi concentration and death camps came out alive.

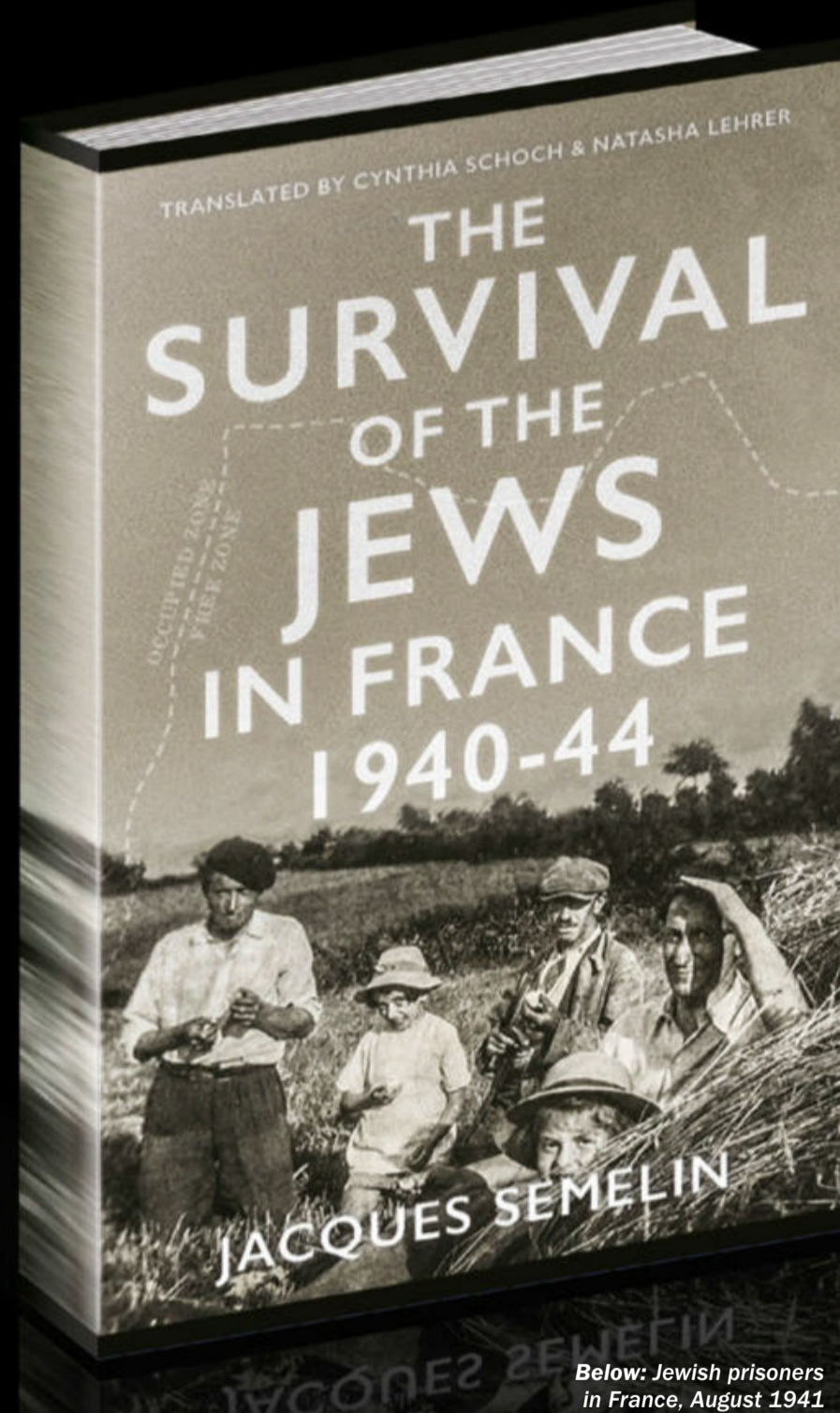
Jacques Semelin's book sheds light on the enigma of this French exception, a story until now largely neglected by historians. The author paints a radically different and unfamiliar view of Vichy France, in what amounts to a scholarly and even-handed account of a complex and changing society. Occupied France was a place where helping and informing on one's neighbours went hand-in-hand, and where small gestures of solidarity sat comfortably with broader anti-Semitism.

The book is rich in illustrations of the everyday tactics that allowed the persecuted to escape raids and deportation. Beyond the international context and geographical, political and cultural factors, the author shows that the Jews found in France a degree of empathy, particularly from the summer of 1942, despite widespread anti-Semitism and denunciation.

Until now, comparatively little research has been directed at the question of why so many Jews survived in France, since most published works have been devoted to their persecution. Semelin looks at how Jews themselves reacted to their persecution and were forced to devise endurance tactics, once they became aware of the threat that was hanging over them.

The Jews became agents of their own survival through everyday acts of micro-resistance, performed by individuals who attempted to escape the oppression. The author points out several factors that contributed to the high rate of survival. One that has been overlooked is the sheer size of France, compared with other countries under Nazi domination. This enabled people to flee from the Occupied to the Free Zone, or even across the border to Switzerland or Spain.

The author could perhaps have made more of the sinister Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, the Vichy government's Commissioner for Jewish Affairs. It was Darquier who, when the 'free zone' was occupied by Nazi forces in 1942, supported the application of the notorious Nuremberg Laws to all French Jews. This meant that race and not religion would be the touchstone, and that 1.5 million Jews, in Darquier's estimation, would be deprived of all civic rights. Darquier escaped to Franco's Spain after the war, where he worked as a Spanish government translator. In casual conversation, he always referred to the Nazis as "the gentlemen of the other side" and maintained that French Jews "like other foreigners" should be required to carry passports. He died peacefully and with impunity in Madrid in 1980, five years after the country's return to democracy. **JS**



Below: Jewish prisoners in France, August 1941





The Hughes H-4 Hercules, nicknamed the 'Spruce Goose'

HIGH HULLS FLYING BOATS OF THE 1930s AND 1940s

AN AFFECTIONATE CELEBRATION OF SOME OF AVIATION'S MOST ECCENTRIC CREATIONS

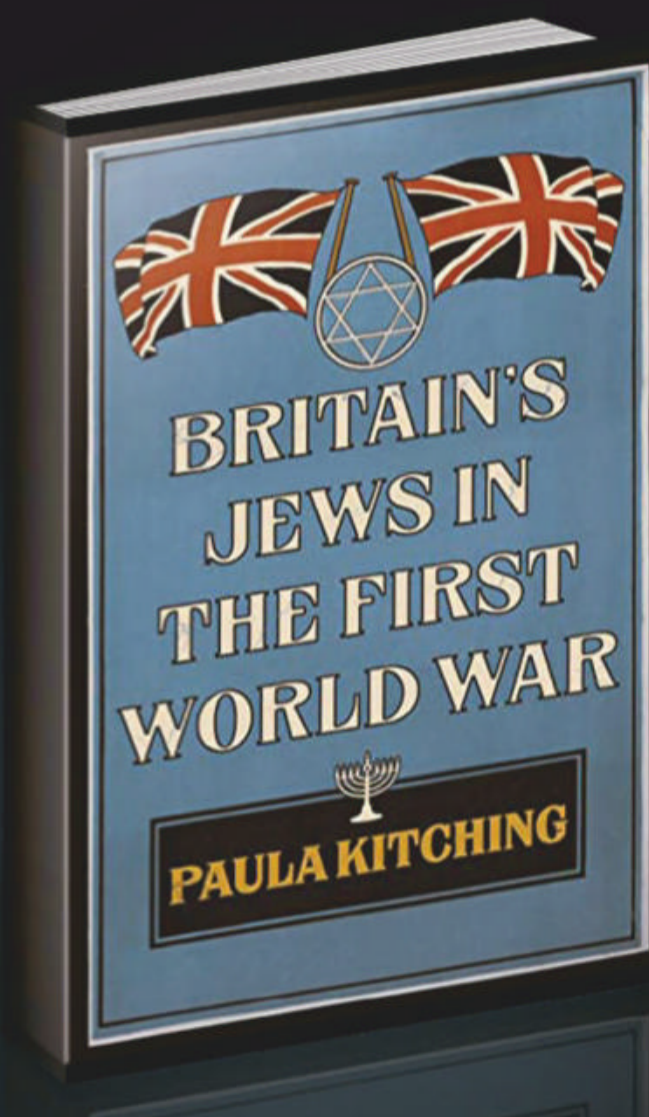
Author: Charles R. G. Bain **Publisher:** Fonthill **Price:** £40.00

The allure of the flying boat is easy to understand. These hybrids – often exotic, sometimes downright strange – are so distinctive they cannot fail to catch the eye. Charles Bain dives into a quirky world with gusto in this book, which charts the lives of nearly 40 flying boats from around the world in the 1930s and 1940s.

Not all of the planes considered had military applications, but many served in various roles, with varying levels of armament (and varying levels of success). Although lining these planes up according to date would give the reader a better idea of the development of the aircraft type as a whole, Bain has arranged them in alphabetical order – grouping them by manufacturer makes it easy to see how the designs of individual companies evolved. The most famous aircraft considered include the

Boeing 314 Clipper and the Consolidated PBY Catalina, but the infamous Spruce Goose, Howard Hughes's gargantuan folly, will be the most familiar to many readers. Despite only one ever having been built, and despite the fact it may have never actually flown (the matter is debated) it remains the most recognisable flying boat ever designed.

In each case great detail is given on the development, production and (where relevant) military experiences of the flying boats in question. Bain writes well and the result is a fascinating study. Whether they looked like boats with a plane stuck on them (like the Sikorsky S-38C), or sleek *Flash Gordon*-style spaceships (like the Saunders-Roe Princess), they are all strangely attractive. Perhaps, as Bain himself states "there is, simply, something about them". **DS**



BRITAIN'S JEWS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

A FASCINATING LOOK INSIDE THE JEWISH COMMUNITY DURING THE GREAT WAR

Authors: Paula Kitching **Publisher:** Amberley **Price:** £14.99

Paula Kitching has taken on a monumental task in writing this book. As the author admits in her preface, "It cannot be a complete record of the whole community or a deep assessment of all those involved." The Jewish community in Britain prior to the outbreak of war was far from a homogenised entity. Instead a variety of different communities with different attitudes to both their own religion and life as British citizens existed.

This diversity means the title of the book is rather misleading, as it can deal only with the experiences of a few individuals or groups. Understanding the Jewish community as a whole would simply be too big a job and, perhaps, ultimately impossible. Adding to the complexity of the task, many of Britain's Jews were intent on proving their commitment to

their country. Out of a community of something like 300,000 people, around 50,000 served in the British armed forces, but the community was split on the issue of Zionism and its call for a Jewish homeland, with many Jewish leaders in Britain favouring cultural assimilation.

Kitching therefore is forced to draw on individual stories, or the histories of particular regiments, to tell her story, with the result being a book that can be engrossing, but which can also seem like a collection of anecdotes rather than one with an overriding point. This itself is perhaps the most important message of the book – the Anglo-Jewry, often subject to suspicion and discrimination, was just as much a collection of individuals as any other section of British society during the war. **DS**

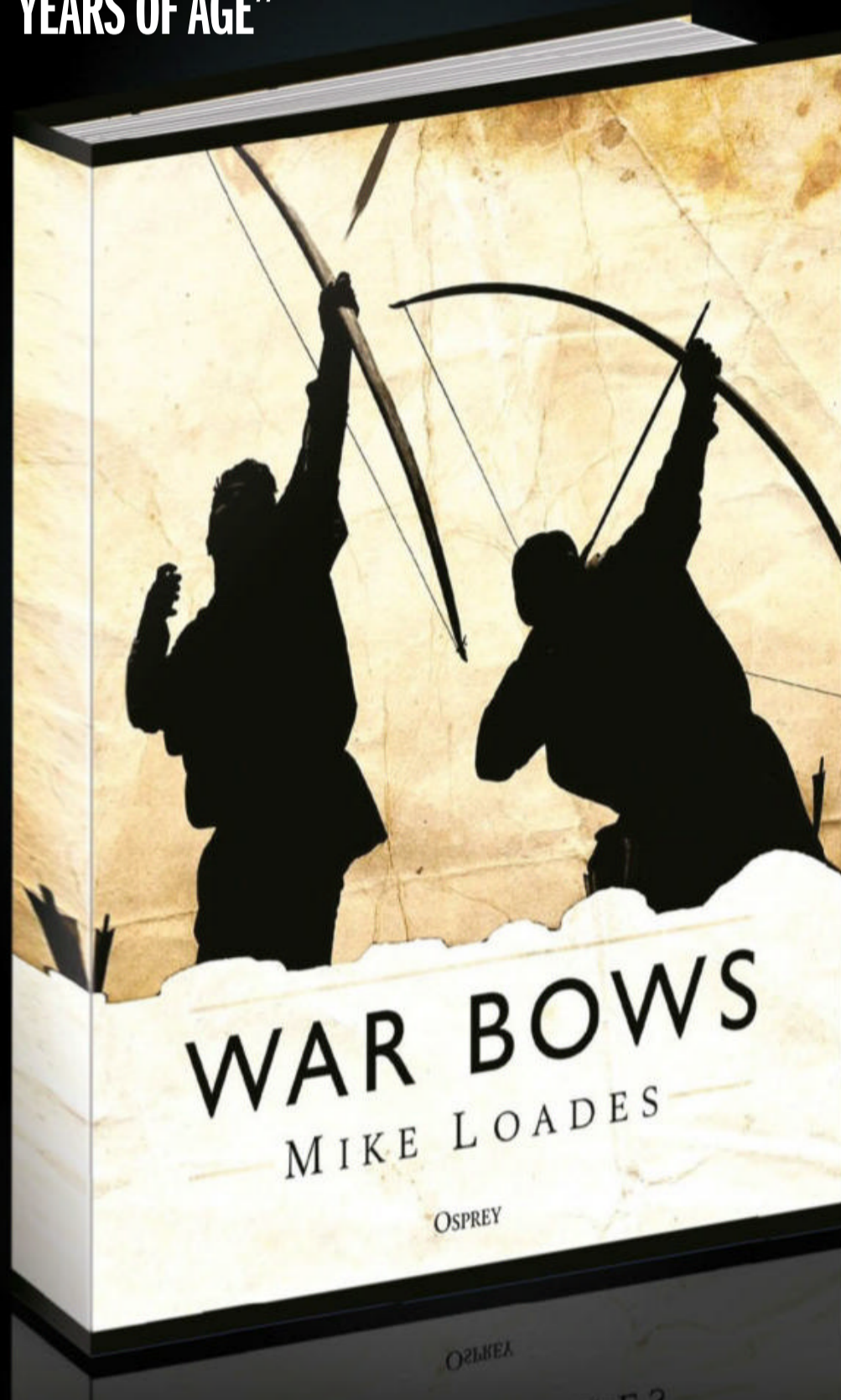
WAR BOWS

ANYONE WITH AN INTEREST IN WAR BOWS OR THE HISTORY OF WARFARE WOULD GREATLY BENEFIT FROM A COPY OF THIS COMPREHENSIVE WORK

Author: Mike Loades **Publisher:** Osprey Publishing **Price:** £30.00

The bow is perhaps the best-known weapon of ancient times. Indeed the earliest known intact examples, called the Holmegaard bows, were found in Denmark and date back as far as 9000 BCE. However fragments of earlier bows have been found that even predate these, with some believed to be up to 18,000 years old. Bows have famously

“THE AUTHOR IS PARTICULARLY WELL-PLACED TO WRITE THIS HISTORY, SINCE HE HAS BEEN INTERESTED IN ARCHERY SINCE HE WAS NINE YEARS OF AGE”



been taken into battle in the hands of the Hittites, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Mongols, the Ottoman Turks, the Chinese, and the Japanese, amongst many others. The Europeans, too, made extensive use of bows in countless battles and sieges during the Middle Ages. It was only with the advent of firearms that bows began to become obsolete, although it is said that ‘Fighting Jack Churchill’ was the only Allied soldier credited with killing an enemy soldier with a longbow during World War II.

This long and incredible history is the focus of Mike Loades’s new book, in which he specifically considers the longbow, the crossbow, the composite bow, and the Japanese Yumi. These four bows make up the four highly detailed chapters of the book, and within each the author assesses the development, use and impact of the bow in history. The book is arranged in such a way that the reader can either read it from cover to cover or simply dip in and out of the sections of interest.

Beginning with the longbow, a favourite of the English, the author examines how it became a symbol of empowerment for the Yeoman classes, and how the use of strength and skill could overcome wealth and status in the Middle Ages. The longbow, of course, allowed English peasants to fell many a rich French knight. Next is the crossbow, a bow so powerful that it was the subject of not one but two papal bans. Following its use during the First Crusade this deadly weapon was described by one eyewitness as a “devilish invention”. Third is the composite bow, a cleverly designed weapon that is smooth to draw yet packs a punch. It is this bow that we have in mind when we imagine skilful warriors shooting from horseback or from moving chariots. Finally Loades examines the Japanese Yumi, probably the least well-known type of bow in the west. Kyujutsu is the Japanese art of archery, and the Yumi was the weapon of choice of the samurai class of warriors, which until the 16th century remained the symbol of a professional warrior in Japan rather than the more famous samurai sword.

The author is particularly well-placed to write this history, since he has been interested in archery since he was nine years of age and has previously written a number of books on the subject and appeared in several TV documentaries on ancient weapons. Loades’s experience with bows, both in terms of their history and real-life handling, shines through this well-researched and beautifully written and illustrated book. **MS**

A crossbow from late 15th or early 16th century



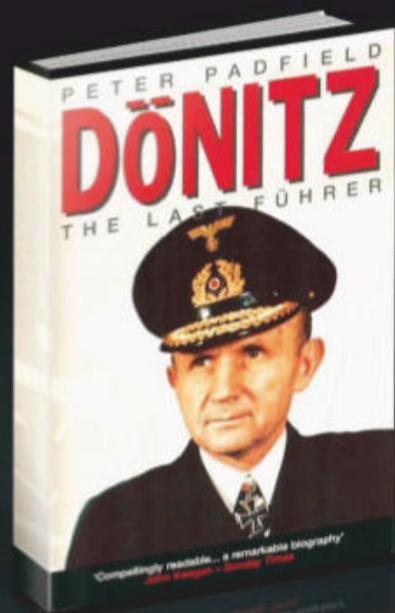
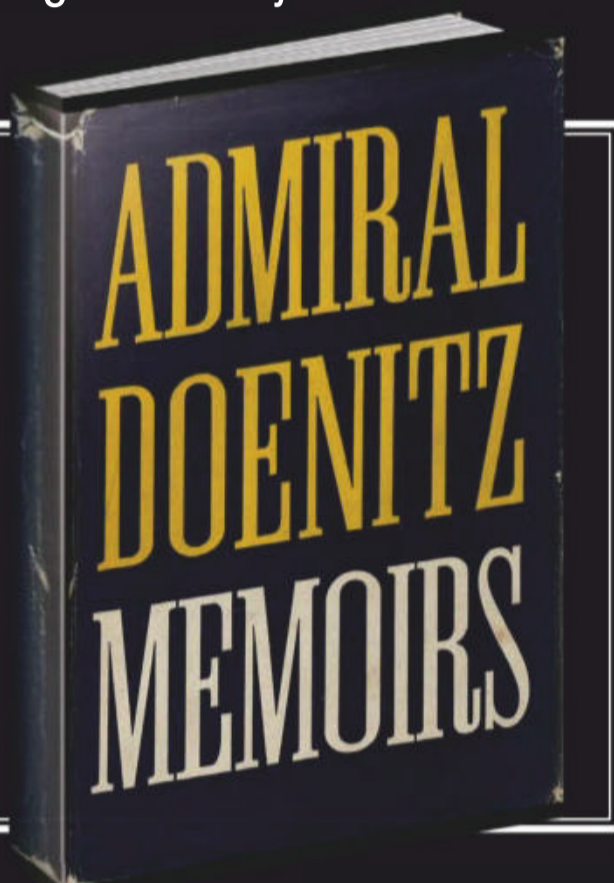
KARL DÖNITZ

Mastermind of Germany's U-boat war and final President of the Third Reich, Karl Dönitz remains a controversial figure in history

Memoirs: Ten Years And Twenty Days
Karl Dönitz

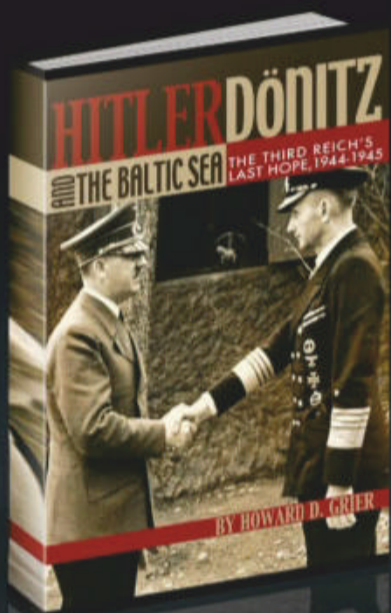
Dönitz's own autobiography remains the most complete account of his leadership of the U-boats and, ultimately, the Kriegsmarine as a whole. Stressing his 'apolitical' disposition, the book does downplay somewhat his place within the Third Reich's hierarchy, concentrating on his military life and final appointment as Hitler's successor in the post of Reichspräsident.

"STRESSING HIS 'APOLITICAL' DISPOSITION, THE BOOK DOES DOWNPLAY SOMEWHAT HIS PLACE WITHIN THE THIRD REICH'S HIERARCHY"



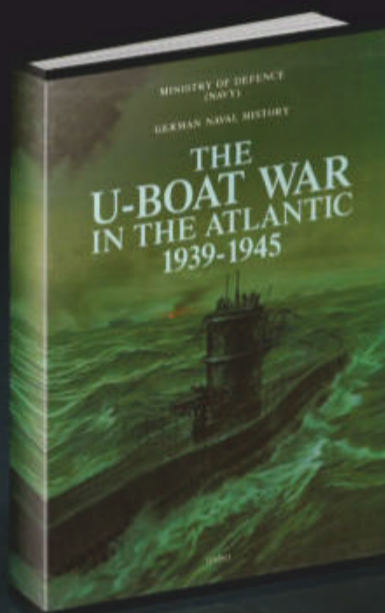
Dönitz: The Last Führer
Peter Padfield

While Dönitz's autobiography can be accused of underplaying his political stance, Padfield's book is the antithesis. Thoroughly researched and well written it remains the only existing comprehensive biography of Karl Dönitz. However it is also abundantly clear from its pages that the author does not like his subject. Perhaps, between this and Dönitz's book, lies the reality.



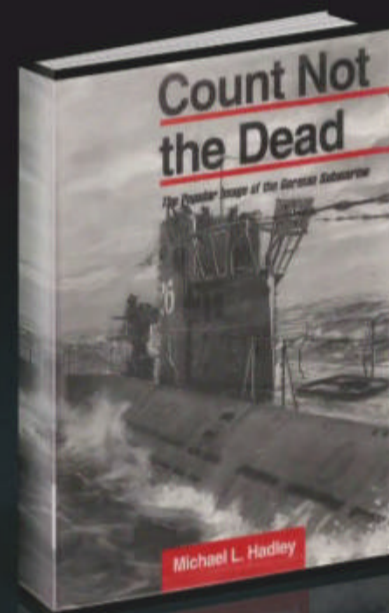
Hitler, Donitz, And The Baltic Sea
Howard D. Grier

This book examines in detail the last year of the war in the east as Hitler sought to hold the Baltic and provide Dönitz with the training grounds required for his 'war-winning' Type XXI electro U-boats. The final chapter also discusses Dönitz's personal and ideological relationship with Hitler and his apparent influence on German military strategy.



The U-boat War In The Atlantic
Günther Hessler

Hessler, Knight's Cross winning commander of U107 and Karl Dönitz's son in law, was commissioned by the Royal Navy to write this three-volume work between 1947 and 1951. This wartime German perspective of the U-boat war records Dönitz's military thinking, written by an officer present for nearly four years on his headquarters staff.



Count Not The Dead
Michael Hadley

An intriguing work that analyses nearly 100 years of approximately 250 German novels, memoirs, and films about the U-boat service. Though containing some minor factual errors, the book shows insight into Dönitz's mindset, including his relatively strong 'anti-intellectualism', aggressive attack principles and belief in adherence to superior command.

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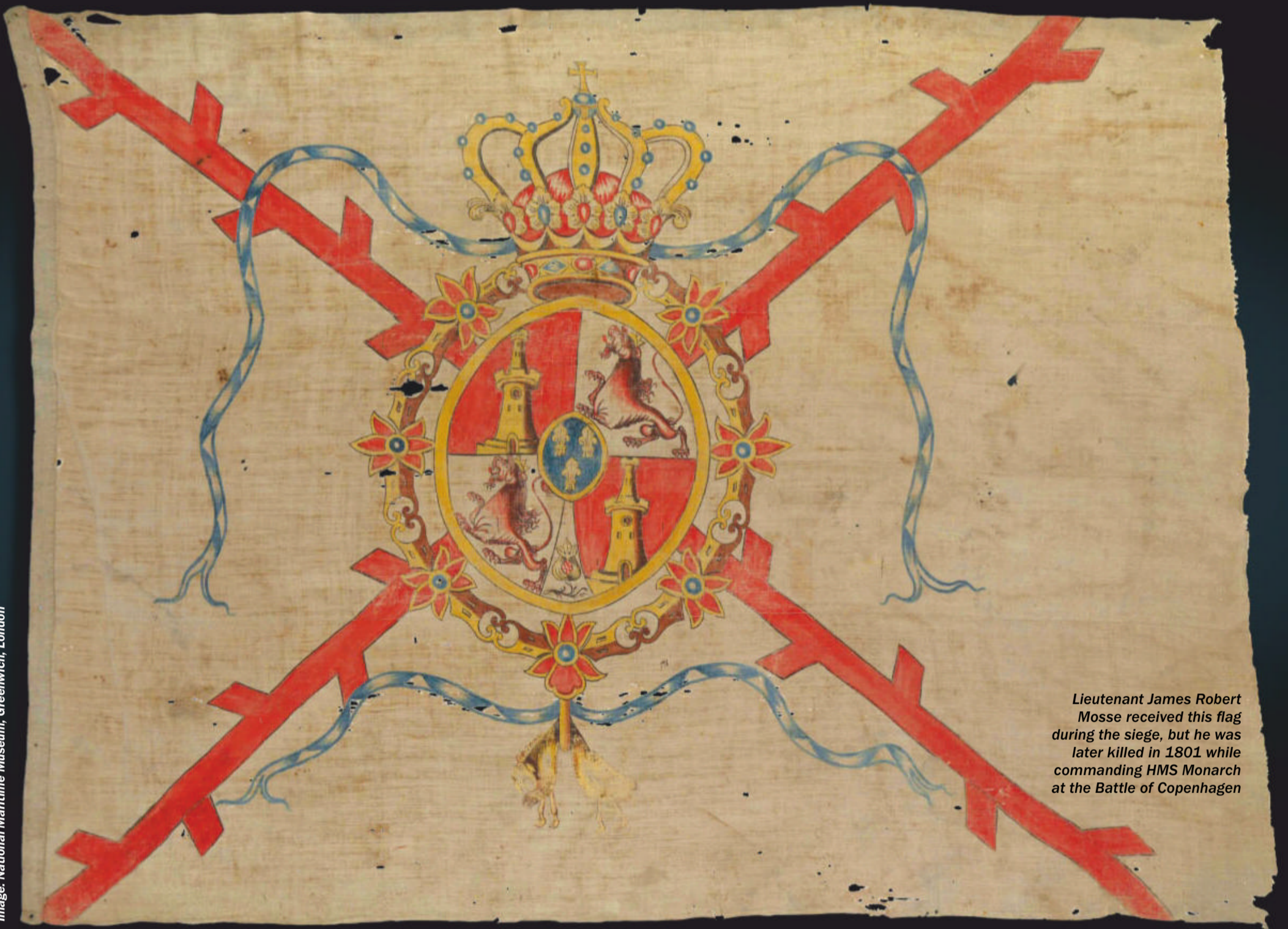
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Image: National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London



Lieutenant James Robert Mosse received this flag during the siege, but he was later killed in 1801 while commanding HMS Monarch at the Battle of Copenhagen

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR FLAG

A British garrison captured this royal banner from the Spanish in 1782

Below: George Augustus Elliott, governor of Gibraltar, oversaw the defeat of the floating batteries during the Grand Assault in September 1782



With an area covering only 6.2 square kilometres (2.4 square miles) and dominated by the 'Rock', Gibraltar is a geographical choke point that controls the entrance and exit to the Mediterranean Sea. It's a strategically vital base for the Royal Navy and has been a bitter point of contention in Anglo-Spanish relations since 1704 – arguably none more so than during the 'Great Siege' of 1779-83.

Conducted during the American War of Independence, the siege was an unsuccessful attempt by Spain and France to capture Gibraltar from the British. The garrison of 7,500 fought against approximately 65,000 Spanish and French soldiers and sailors for over three years and seven months. This was the longest siege endured by the British armed forces, and it was also one of the longest sieges in history.

Although it began on 24 June 1779, the siege did not reach its climax until the 'Grand Assault' of September 1782. Tens of thousands of Spanish and French troops, along with 49 ships of the line and ten 'floating batteries', attacked the garrison from land and sea. The assault was a disaster, particularly when all the floating batteries were destroyed. This action ultimately led to the garrison's relief by the Royal Navy on 7 February 1783.

One of the spoils captured by the British during the Grand Assault was this hand-sewn white linen Spanish flag. Painted with the royal arms of Spain, the flag is dominated by the Cross of Burgundy saltire, which was the emblem of the ruling Habsburg dynasty. It is believed to have been presented to naval Lieutenant James Robert Mosse, and the flag is now held in the collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

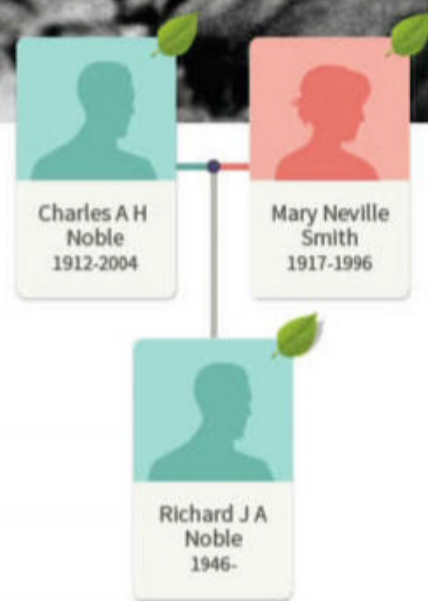
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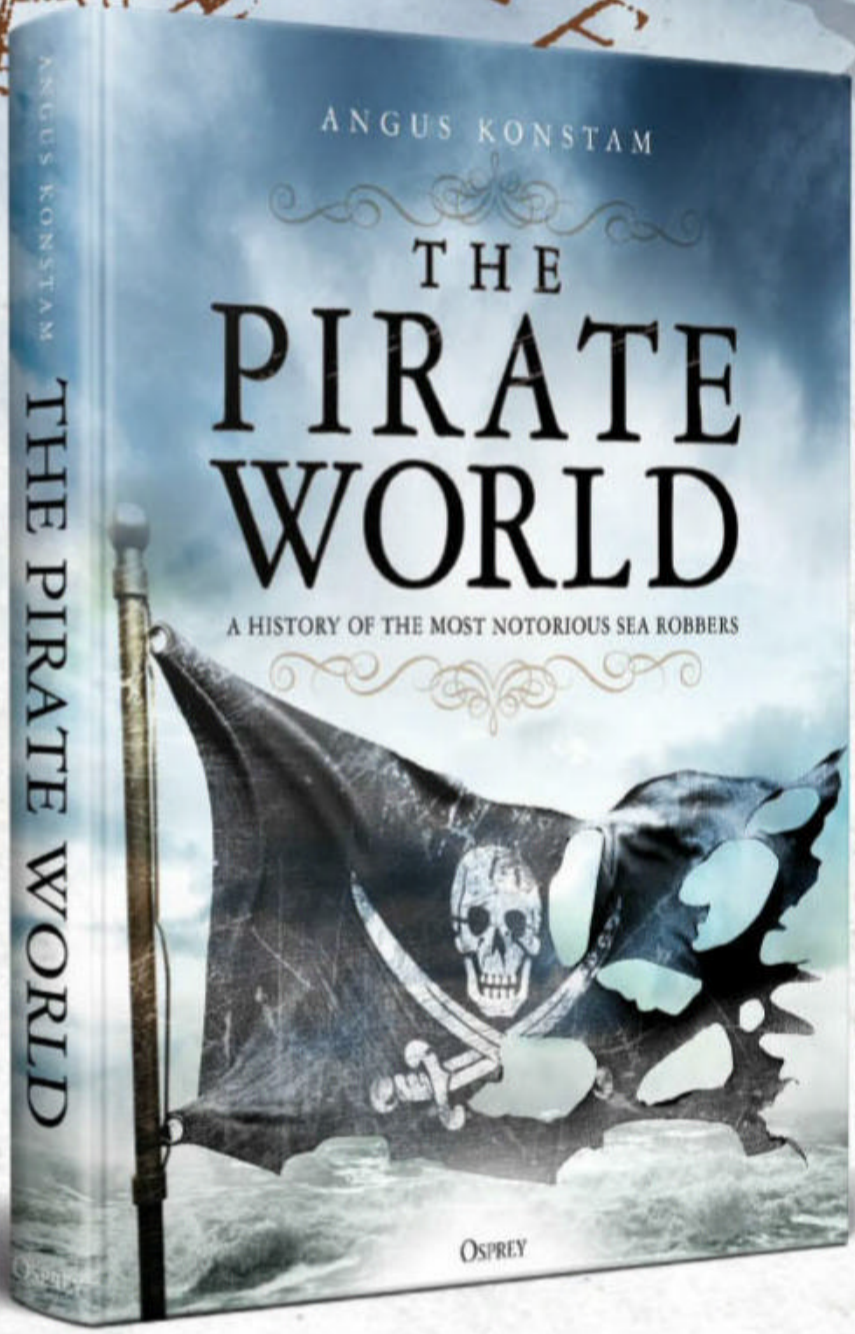
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